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Israel's Settlement in Canaan
The Biblical Tradition and its Historical Background

By

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THE REV. CHARLES JAMES BALL, D.Litt.

IN AFFECTIONATE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

OF MUCH INSTRUCTION AND INSPIRATION

IN BIBLICAL STUDIES

PREFACE

When I was honoured by the President and Council of the British Academy with an invitation to deliver the Schweich Lectures of 1917, the suggestion was made that I should choose some subject in connexion with the commentary on the Book of Judges on which I have been engaged for some years. The subject which I chose, though not falling within the period of the Judges of Israel as defined by the limits of the Book of Judges, is one which is brought prominently forward by the introductory section to the book, ch. i. 1–ii. 5, which raises immediately the question of the relation of the summary which it gives of the tribal settlement in Canaan to the fuller and in many respects discrepant account of that settlement which we find in the Book of Joshua. Even apart from this preface to the Book of Judges, the narratives dealing with the various Israelite leaders, which form the material of the book as a whole, picture (at any rate in the old sources themselves as contrasted with the editorial framework) so slight a cohesion among the various tribal units of Israel, and their holding of so precarious a footing in Canaan in the midst of alien races, that the question presses itself upon the student whether the theory of a closely organized body of twelve tribes, effecting under a single leader a complete subjugation of the greater part of Canaan—i.e. the theory of the Book of Joshua in its present form—is at all consistent with such a state of affairs in the period immediately subsequent to the settlement. I welcomed the opportunity, therefore, of examining, as systematically as I was able to do within the brief compass of three lectures, a subject the right understanding of which forms a necessary preliminary to the study of the period of the Judges, and of bringing together and supplementing the

conclusions at which I had arrived in my more or less isolated discussions of particular points as they arose in the course of preparation of my commentary. Fortunately, my larger work is completed, and would ere now have seen the light had it not been for the great difficulties connected with publication at the present time; and I have utilized material embodied in it for many of the questions which call for discussion in the present lectures. I have cited it throughout as Burney, *Judges*, and have been able for the most part to give reference to the pages in which the points in question receive fuller discussion. Lecture III is based in the main upon work which I have embodied in the introduction to the commentary (§ 6), which will be found there to stand in a fuller and more detailed historical setting of events in Western Asia so far as they have a bearing on the contemporary history of Canaan; and I have also drawn largely on the book in stating my views as to the conquest of the Negeb by a northward advance from Kadesh-Barnea (pp. 28 ff.; cf. *Judges*, pp. 44 ff.), and as to the fortunes of the tribe of Levi (pp. 44 ff.; cf. *Judges*, pp. 436 ff.).

The reader of these lectures who expects to find a continuous narrative of Israel's settlement in Canaan must inevitably be disappointed by the scantiness of the material, especially upon the archaeological side, and the fragmentary character of such conclusions as can be drawn with reasonable safety. The weaving of a fuller and more connected narrative might have been accomplished by paying less strict regard to the scientific method and allowing more free play to the imagination; but a real advance in historical knowledge can only be secured by frankly facing the facts that the sources of information at our disposal are inadequate for the construction of such a connected scheme, and that we can only advance by slow degrees in our endeavour to ascertain the truth. Our best hope for any further gain in knowledge of Israel's early history lies in fresh archaeological discovery; and if, as we trust, the near future is to witness a new régime in Palestine, and the opening up of larger facilities for scientific excavation, the munificent provision of the Schweich Fund, founded in memory of the late Mr. Leopold Schweich, of Paris, for the furtherance of

such excavation will prove of unique value, and the wisdom in placing this object in the forefront of the scheme may receive abundant justification.

The lectures are published in the form in which they were given; though the time-limitation made it necessary to omit considerable portions in delivery.

C. F. B.

March, 1918.

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SYMBOLS EMPLOYED TO DENOTE THE BIBLICAL SOURCES

M.T. The Massoretic Text, i.e. the Hebrew *Textus Receptus* as supplied with vowels and accents by the Massoretes or conservators of tradition (*massōrā* = 'tradition').

E. The Elohistic narrative in the Hexateuch, so termed as exhibiting a preference for the use of the divine title *Elōhîm*, 'God'. This narrative probably took shape as a written document not later than the middle of the eighth century B.C. (the period of Amos and Hosea), and emanates from the prophetic school of the Northern Kingdom. It has, however, undergone considerable expansion in places at the hands of a later prophetic writer or writers (usually distinguished as E^2), who worked under the influence of Hosea's teaching. E^2 is probably not much (if at all) earlier than 700 B.C.

J. The Jehovistic (Yahwistic) narrative in the Hexateuch, so termed as characterized by regular use of the divine name Jehovah or Yahweh from the earliest narratives of Genesis onwards; whereas E avoids use of the name altogether until the narration of the Theophany at Horeb, and from that point onwards uses it but sparingly alongside of *Elōhîm*. The date usually assigned to J as a continuous written document is *c.* 850 B.C.; and its composition appears to be due to the prophetic school of the Kingdom of Judah. The material utilized by J and E was probably in the main oral tradition of indefinite antiquity, though there exist some few indications of the employment of older written sources.

JE. The combined narrative of J and E—a symbol used when it is not possible, or not necessary, to distinguish the sources. Combination of the two prophetical sources was carried out by a redactor whose symbol is R^{JE}, probably in the earlier half of the seventh century B.C.

P. The Priestly document in the Pentateuch—the work of the legalistic school of the latter part of the exile and later, though based on older material. The same symbol (P) is usually employed to mark the work of this school as embodied in the Book of Joshua, the most important part of which is the description of the heritages of the various tribes, xiii. 15–xxi. 42.

R^D. The Deuteronomic redactor of JE in the Book of Joshua. The work of this editor was probably carried out not very long subsequently to the promulgation of the Book of the Law (i.e. the nucleus of Deuteronomy) in the eighteenth year of Josiah (621 B.C.).

R^{JE}. See under JE.

ISRAEL'S SETTLEMENT IN CANAAN

THE BIBLICAL TRADITION AND ITS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

LECTURE I

THE BIBLICAL TRADITION EXAMINED

The terms of the Trust under which I have been invited to deliver these Lectures direct that 'the trust fund shall be devoted to the furtherance of research in the archaeology, art, history, languages, and literature of ancient civilization with reference to Biblical study'; and it is further ordained that the Schweich Lectures shall deal 'with some subject or subjects' coming within the scope of these objects. It is therefore open to a lecturer to concentrate his attention upon a single department of research as thus defined, or to base his arguments and deductions upon a synthesis of results obtained through research in two or more of such departments. It is the second method which I propose to adopt. My lectures will represent an endeavour to reach historical results through the evidence of literary and historical criticism of Old Testament documents combined with the evidence of archaeology. The attempt has sometimes been made to set Biblical archaeology over against Biblical literary and historical criticism, and to represent the 'facts' deduced from the former as antagonistic to, or subversive of, the 'fancies' of the latter. This claim, unfair and unwarranted as it is in the main, *does* serve to emphasize the truth that these two departments of Biblical research cannot rightly be kept apart. Internal examination of the Old Testament writings cannot yield its full results apart from application of the external evidence supplied by archaeology; nor, it may be added, can the results of archaeology be profitably assimilated without a painstaking and critical examination of the historical documents upon which these external discoveries are believed to shed new light. Our task, therefore,

as students of Biblical history, is to endeavour to advance along both these lines, keeping them, as far as may be, in close touch. In each department we have to deal with a number of ascertained *facts*—the facts revealed by critical examination of the Biblical documents being no less concrete in character than those unearthed by the spade of the archaeologist: each of these series of facts furnishes material for the elaboration of *theories* in explanation of them—the one class of theory being in essential character neither more nor less tentative than the other. The criterion for theories of either class is one and the same, viz. whether they are based, step by step, upon reliable inference, and accommodate themselves satisfactorily to all relevant facts by which they may be tested.

The period with which I have chosen to deal is one which makes a special call for historical examination. Were we dealing with the period of the Hebrew monarchies we should find ourselves standing upon comparatively firm ground. The history embodied in the Books of Kings is well attested as a whole both internally and externally. It is true that, in the study of Kings as an historical document, we are confronted by many considerable problems, of which at present no adequate solution can be offered. Still, allowing all due weight for these, their effect upon our general grasp of the history is but small. Critical examination of the documents embodied in the work has proved that their historical value is high; archaeology, coming to our aid with such external information as is provided by the Assyrian annals, has enabled us to check and corroborate. The same conclusion is true, to a large extent, of the Books of Samuel—especially of 2 Samuel—upon internal grounds. The main part of 2 Samuel consists of a single document, contemporary, or nearly so, with the events which it narrates, and of unique value as an extended historical record. 1 Samuel contains a double tradition with two somewhat variant standpoints which call for some amount of adjustment. Yet no one would dispute the historical character of the figures of Eli, Samuel, and Saul; and few would deny that we are able to gather a reasonably clear historical conception of the main outlines of their careers. When, however, we go back to the period immediately preceding, which may be said to extend forward from the invasion of Canaan by the tribes of Israel, and to cover their gradual settlement in the land, the case is considerably different.

This may readily be seen if, for example, we compare the Biblical chronology of the period with the Biblical chronology of Kings.

Assyrian chronology proves that the Biblical chronology of Kings, though marked by a few apparently insoluble difficulties, is based on the whole upon sound historical data.[1] In contrast, the

[1] This fact cannot here be illustrated at length; but it is worth while to notice that, if we take certain dates fixed by Assyrian chronology for events which have Biblical connexions, and measure the intervals from date to date as given in the chronological scheme of Kings, the results tend on the whole to vindicate the Biblical scheme. Thus we have, from Assyrian sources, the following fixed points:

854 B. C. Ahab in alliance with Bir-idri (Benhadad II) of Damascus against Shalmaneser III at Ḳarḳar.

842 B. C. Jehu pays tribute to Shalmaneser III.

806, 803, 797 B. C. Adad-nirari IV makes campaigns against the west, and receives tribute from Omri-land (i. e. Israel) among others. In one of these campaigns he utterly defeats Mari' (Benhadad III), captures Damascus, and receives unconditional submission.

782–745 B. C. A period of internal weakness in Assyria under Shalmaneser IV, Ašur-dan IV, Ašur-nirari IV.

745 B. C. Tiglath-Pileser IV (Pul) revives the power of Assyria.

738 B. C. Tribute paid to Tiglath-Pileser by Menahem of Israel.

Assuming that the battle of Ḳarḳar took place in Ahab's last year, we have (on the pre-dating system, i. e. the reckoning of the still unexpired portion of a year in which a king came to the throne at his first reigning year) 854–853 B. C. for Ahaziah (reigned two years), 853–842 B. C. for Jehoram (reigned twelve years), 842 B. C. accession of Jehu. That Jehu should have made himself a vassal of the Assyrian king immediately upon his accession is highly probable. Israel was at war with Hazael of Damascus (2 Kings ix. 15) and was probably already in danger of being badly worsted (cf. 2 Kings x. 32, 33). In addition to this, Jehu may well have stood in dread of a counter-revolution, and so needed a powerful ally to hold his external and internal foes in check.

Taking 842 B. C. at the first year of Jehu, we may reckon forward to the crippling of Damascus which enabled Jehoash of Israel to gain successes against Benhadad III (2 Kings xiii. 22–25). This may have occurred on any of the three dates 806, 803, 797 B. C., i. e. from the first year of Jehu to the capture of Damascus may have been thirty-six, thirty-nine, or forty-five years. The lengths given in Kings for the reigns of Jehu and Jehoahaz are twenty-eight and seventeen years respectively, i. e. on the pre-dating system 27 and 16 = 43 years. The accession of Jehoash would therefore fall forty-three years after 842 B. C., i. e. 799 B. C., two years before the crippling of Damascus, if we take for this the latest of the three possible dates.

If we take 799 B. C. for the accession of Jehoash, and he reigned sixteen years, i. e. on the pre-dating system fifteen years, we have 784–744 B. C. for Jeroboam II (reigned forty-one years), who gained such a series of successes against the Aramaeans as enabled him to extend the northern limits of his kingdom to the entering in of Hamath and to inaugurate a period of prosperity for the kingdom of Israel. Jeroboam II's reign was thus practically coincident with the whole period during which Assyria was unable (through internal weakness) to interfere in the affairs of the west.

After Jeroboam II's death, 744 B. C., there followed Zechariah (six months), Shallum (one month), Menahem (ten years), 743–734 B. C. Thus the Assyrian

chronology of the earlier period is characterized by the use of round numbers, the figure 40 occurring with suspicious frequency. Thus, forty years represents the period of the wilderness-wanderings, of the intervals during which 'the land had rest' after the victories of Othniel, Barak, and Gideon, of the oppression by the Philistines, of the judgeship of Eli, and of the reigns of David and Solomon. The peace which supervened after Ehud's success against Moab is given as twice forty years, and Samson's judgeship as half forty years. A very late addition to 1 Kings (*ch.* vi. 1) reckons the period from the Exodus till the building of the Temple in Solomon's fourth year as 480 years, i.e. 40×12. This suggests at once that forty years may have been the conventional reckoning of the length of a *generation*, and that twelve generations were supposed to cover the period in question; and this surmise receives striking confirmation from the genealogy of Aaron and his successors as given in 1 Chron. vi. 3–10, according to which twelve names intervene between Eleazar, Aaron's son, and Azariah, who is specified as 'he that exercised the priest's office in the house that Solomon built in Jerusalem'. It needs no extended argument to prove that such a system of reckoning is purely artificial. The average length of a generation, i.e. the length of the period representing the age of a father at the birth of his first-born son, is considerably less than forty years, especially in an Eastern country; nor are even periods of forty years ever known to recur with the frequency which is represented in the chronology of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel. Closer examination of this curious scheme of chronology suggests that, late and artificial as it must be deemed in its earliest form, it has been subsequently modified by various influences—notably through the attempt to raise the number of the Judges within the Book of Judges to twelve by the insertion of the 'minor' Judges, thus making them correspond as far as possible to the twelve tribes of Israel; but the probability is that, in its original form, the twelve generations were reckoned by assigning forty years each to the twelve leaders of Israel between the Exodus and Solomon who are specifically represented as divinely

date for Menahem's tribute to Tiglath-Pileser IV, 738 B.C., falls well within his reign according to the Biblical data.

It is true that later on we meet with various discrepancies between the Biblical and Assyrian data; but these do not invalidate the fact that the calculations noticed above must be based on sound chronological information. There is thus all the difference in the world between the Biblical chronology of the monarchic period, and the Biblical chronology of the pre-monarchic period with its recurrent round periods of forty years.

appointed, viz. (1) Moses, (2) Joshua, (3) Othniel, (4) Ehud, (5) Barak, (6) Gideon, (7) Jephthah, (8) Samson, (9) Eli, (10) Samuel, (11) Saul, (12) David.[1]

If this is so, however, we immediately find ourselves confronted by a further historical difficulty. Such a scheme of chronology, in order to 'work', must inevitably presuppose that the stated periods were *successive*, without any overlapping. The Israelite leaders of whom we are speaking must be regarded as exercising authority *over Israel as a whole*; and the chronological scheme is therefore bound up with the theory that Israel as a whole formed a unity of twelve tribes from the period of the Exodus and onward. This is clearly the theory of the editorial parts of the Book of Judges as regards the authority exercised by the Judges; yet it is no less clear that the old narratives themselves picture a large amount of disorganization among the tribes, and rightly regard the Judges as merely local leaders, not successive rulers of all Israel.

This single point—the question of chronology—may suffice to illustrate the difference between our sources of information bearing on the history of the Israelite monarchies, and our sources of information as to the unsettled times which preceded the establishment of the monarchical system. It is a comparatively straightforward task to write a history of the monarchy-period which shall be at once fairly full, and shall at the same time conform to the strictest canons of historical research as they may be applied to any period of ancient history: it is a far more complicated matter to deal with the earlier period by application of the same methods, and to extract information which may be regarded as giving us a reliable insight into its history. For, in dealing with this period of Israel's settlement in Canaan, we have to rely upon records which, as written documents, are undoubtedly much further removed from the period with which they deal than are the records of the monarchy. Events have been handed down across a considerable period in the form of stories told and retold round the camp-fire and beside the well, and have undergone (can we doubt it?) some amount of modification and embellishment in the process. We are on the borderland between history and legend. All the more keenly, therefore, do we desire to examine and to estimate in the fullest light which can be offered by critical analysis and by archaeology; and, so doing, to gain all we can for veritable history.

[1] Cf. further Burney, *Judges*, Introduction, p. liv.

And now a few words as to my own position. As this discussion proceeds, it may appear that I am adopting views which fail to commend themselves to either extreme among Biblical interpreters. I cannot associate myself with the champions of the absolute historical trustworthiness of Israel's ancient traditions in the form in which they have come down to us; nor, on the other hand, can I side with those who adopt an attitude of extreme scepticism in regard to the possibility of discovering a genuine historical element in the Old Testament documents relating to the period with which I have chosen to deal. Critical study of the historical books of the Old Testament has proved beyond the possibility of a doubt that they are composite in character, consisting of a substratum of ancient narratives which frequently run parallel in presenting more or less variant traditions of the same series of events. These narratives have been utilized and combined by later editors; and this editorial work has, in some books at least, been not a single but a repeated process, successive editors, usually separated one from another by considerable periods of years, and belonging, as we are accustomed to say, to different 'schools of thought', having, in turn, done their part to bring the record of Israel's past history into a form which was calculated to make its appeal to the religious thought of their respective ages. The need for these successive processes of editing Israel's historical traditions will be best understood if the fact be clearly borne in mind that their chief conservators were the religious teachers of the nation—the prophets, and that the main object of their preservation was their *religious* interest rather than their historical interest pure and simple. This is a fact which is recognized in the title assigned by the Jews to the second division of the Old Testament Canon. As will be familiar to you, that Canon falls into three divisions—the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings (Hebrew *Kethûbhîm*, Greek *Hagiographa*). The second division, the Prophets, falls again into two sections; and while the later of these sections, 'the later Prophets,' covers the books which from our modern point of view we naturally regard as prophetic—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets, the earlier section, 'the former Prophets,' includes Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; a fact which proves that, by the founders of the Canon, these historical books were regarded as emanating, no less than 'the later Prophets', from the circle of Israel's religious teachers, and as possessing an interest and value which, above all other, was a religious one. Now even as regards modern history, it is clear

that the philosophy of history is not the same for all ages. Looked at as regards the practical lessons which it has to teach, history has from time to time to be rewritten. The religious and political lessons of (let us say) the Reformation or the Great Rebellion are not quite the same for England of the present day as they were for England of a hundred years ago. Lapse of time brings out new aspects of the history of the past, and enables fresh applications of that history to be deduced. So it was with Israel.

There is, however, some amount of difference between the modern method of writing a history of the past and that practised by the historians of Israel. The historian of our own day has had the advantage of a training in scientific method, and does not as a rule (even when his object is the eliciting of the practical lessons which history has to teach his contemporaries) make the mistake of attributing to past ages the social conditions and developed phases of thought which are current at the time of his writing; whereas the Israelite historian, not so scientifically trained, was prone to do this, both in the sphere of political organization (the union of the twelve tribes) and in that of institutional religion (the single sanctuary, the laws regulating sacrifice, priesthood, &c.). Fortunately, however, for our knowledge of Israel's past history, there exists another difference between the modern method of writing history and that practised in the historical books of the Old Testament—a difference which immediately supplies an answer to two questions which may arise in your minds in regard to the practice which I have attributed to the Israelite historian—'How do we know that he was not correct in finding the present reflected in the past?' and, 'Assuming that he was incorrect, what means do we possess of putting this to the proof, and of arriving at a truer estimate of past history?' The modern historian, in utilizing the ancient records upon which he depends, is accustomed first to master and assimilate their contents to the best of his ability, and then to reproduce the result in his own words, bearing the impress of his own characteristic style, and to some extent at least accommodated to the particular presentation of history which he has in view. The ancient Israelite historian used quite a different method. He was content to employ, as we may say, the scissors and paste. He gives us, to a very large extent, the *ipsissima verba* of his old sources, cut into convenient sections and fitted into his own framework. If he has recourse to two parallel sources of history for the same events, he does not work these up into one indistinguishable whole, but divides them up and fits them together like a mosaic,

only omitting such portions of each as are plainly superfluous side by side with the parallel narrative, and sometimes not even doing that; harmonizing differences here and there by a few touches of his own, but more frequently not even troubling to do this.[1] Thus it is more accurate to describe him as a redactor or editor than as an author. The advantage of such a proceeding from the point of view of the conservation of ancient authentic records is obvious. The modern historian's method undoubtedly has the advantage as regards style and literary unity; but he may, and very often does, misinterpret the evidence of his sources. This does not greatly matter to us so long as we still have recourse to the ancient sources themselves, and can test and check his use of them. But imagine ourselves transported to a period a thousand years hence, the old sources lost, and no means surviving by which we can verify and correct our historian's statements, and we are entirely at his mercy. The Israelite historian's method, crude as it may seem from the modern point of view, has the inestimable advantage of preserving

[1] If any one who is unfamiliar with the results of literary criticism is inclined to doubt whether the method above outlined was really pursued by the editors of the historical books of the Old Testament, he may test the fact by comparing the narrative of Chronicles with that of Samuel and Kings. The editor of Chronicles seems to have had sources at his disposal with which we are otherwise unacquainted; but his main sources were the older historical books as known to us, and he incorporates whole sections of Samuel and Kings straight into his narrative in just the same way as we infer, through critical analysis, that the redactors of the Pentateuch and 'the former Prophets' (Joshua—Kings) have done. It will suffice to take only one example—the account of the reign of Rehoboam in 2 Chron. x ff. We find that 2 Chron. x. 1–xi. 4, which relates the events leading to the division of the kingdom, corresponds nearly word for word with 1 Kings xii. 1–24. The section which follows after in Kings refers to Jeroboam and the northern kingdom, and the editor of Chronicles omits it as alien to his purpose, and instead continues with a narrative from another source narrating Rehoboam's building operations and the internal politics of the kingdom of Judah. This continues to the end of *ch.* xi. The chronicler next, in *ch.* xii, proceeds to relate the invasion of Shishak, king of Egypt. Now this invasion, as related in Kings, occupies four verses—1 Kings xiv. 25–28. It will be found that the chronicler has used this short narrative as a source. It has been cut up and interlarded with other matter; but it is all there, practically *verbatim*. Thus 1 Kings xiv. 25 = 2 Chron. xii. 2a; 1 Kings xiv. 26, 27, 28 = 2 Chron. xii. 9b, 10, 11.

Here, then, we have a phenomenon precisely analogous to that which is described above. The editor of Chronicles has before him the Book of Kings and another source or sources. He sets to work, not by mastering the contents of his sources and giving out the result in his own words, but by cutting out from his sources just so much as he requires and incorporating *verbatim* into his history without acknowledgement, sections from the one source being interlarded with sections from other sources.

to us, practically unaltered, precious fragments of ancient records which would otherwise have perished.

Such, then, is a general sketch of the view which I adopt with regard to the Biblical sources with which we have to deal—a view which is held in all essentials by every representative of the critical school of O. T. scholars; and the evidence for which is so overwhelmingly cogent, and has been clearly set forth in so many easily accessible works, that I need make no apology for assuming it as proved. It is obvious that inquiry into *historical fact* must find its material in the ancient documents which have been utilized by the editors of the Old Testament records, rather than in the interpretations which have been put upon them, and the additions which have been made to them, by these editors themselves. Such inquiry, however, has to go deeper still. The old narratives themselves are, as we have already remarked, for the most part the outcome of a long period of oral transmission. When they exist in duplicate, there are variations in detail of more or less magnitude which have to be accounted for. Looked at singly, they not infrequently exhibit some amount of internal inconsistency which postulates the conclusion that they themselves are to some extent composite; since such inconsistency surely implies that they themselves are constructed through utilization and combination of still earlier written documents, or more probably (for the most part) of variant oral traditions. Having distinguished these elements so far as is possible, we obtain statements the historical worth of which can only be assessed by the answer which we give to the question, 'Are they inherently probable?' This answer depends partly upon the relation which each statement bears to other statements in the same record, or in parallel records, within the Old Testament itself, i. e. upon the extent to which it works in with a consistent historical scheme as deduced from many such statements. It depends also—and especially—upon the corroboration offered by extra-Biblical evidence, i. e. the evidence of archaeology; and since such evidence is for the most part contemporary with the period to which it refers, its value to the historian is priceless. The highest form of archaeological corroboration is of course the express mention of a fact as recorded in the Biblical records (such, e. g., as we meet with not infrequently in the Assyrian annals as compared with the history of the Books of Kings); but there is also a secondary form which is of very great value, viz. the general conception which external records enable us to form of the conditions of life within the sphere of our inquiry, in so far as the general agreement or non-agreement

of this conception with the Biblical records serves to corroborate or else to invalidate the statements of the latter (a good instance is the conception which the Tell el-Amarna correspondence enables us to form of the condition of Syria and Palestine *circa* 1400 B. C., which forms an excellent touchstone as to the reliability of the Biblical narratives which presumably deal with about the same period).

These remarks may serve to illustrate the fact that the attempt to reconstruct a connected scheme of history for the early period with which we are dealing, and in the light of the material which we have to hand, is a task of very great difficulty. While emphasizing this difficulty as clearly and impartially as I can, I do not, as I have already remarked, associate myself with those who hold that any such attempt is foredoomed to failure on account of the sparseness, or practical non-existence, of a genuine historical element in Israel's early traditions which deal with the pre-monarchic period. Quite otherwise. There are certain considerations which, while lying somewhat apart from the line of investigation which we are attempting to pursue in the present course, yet seem (to my mind at least) to point the fact that the history of Israel's *religion* (and by 'religion' I here mean, not the heritage of animistic beliefs which was the common property of the Semitic races as a whole, but the birth of a relatively high ethical conception of the nature of God and of His moral requirements) must be carried back at least as far as the age of Moses. I hold that Moses and the theory of religion of which he was traditionally held to be the founder—a theory involving allegiance to a single Deity, Yahweh, upon the basis of a covenant-relation invested with a moral sanction—are of the nature of historical postulates from the unique development of Israel's religion as we see it later on in the full light of history. I had occasion, some ten years ago, to argue this in an article which I published in the *Journal of Theological Studies*;[1] and I have since found no reason to go back in any respect from the line of argument which I then adopted. If, however, it be a fact that Moses is an historical figure, and that we are able to gather some sort of genuine conception of the great work which he accomplished, the expectation is created that, in the early traditions of Israel which deal with his time and after, we ought to be able to trace some elements which may be ranked as veritable history. To this extent, therefore, I approach our subject with a bias in favour of the existence of a real historical kernel in the Biblical sources at our

[1] 'A Theory of the Developement of Israelite Religion in Early Times', *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1908, pp. 321–52.

disposal; if that can be called a bias which is (as I think) the outcome of a sound process of reasoning.

The conception which we gather from the Book of Joshua as it stands with regard to the conquest of Canaan by the tribes of Israel under the leadership of Joshua is doubtless very familiar to you, and need not be set forth at length. The narrative is a direct continuation of the preceding Pentateuchal narrative, which closes with the death of Moses, leaving the twelve tribes of Israel encamped at Shittim in the plains of Moab, and ready under their new leader to cross the Jordan and begin the conquest of Canaan. It will be recollected that most of the strip of country east of Jordan is pictured as already won, and as promised by Moses to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, on the condition that they show their willingness first to assist their brethren in the conquest of the territory west of Jordan. After the passage of the Jordan,[1] Jericho, in the Jordan valley, is invested, and speedily falls.[2] An advance is then made against Ai,[3] on the eastern side of the Hill-country, and, after an initial repulse, this city is also captured.[4] These successes lead the inhabitants of Gibeon,[5] and three neighbouring cities, Kephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim[6]—all situated in the central part of the Hill-country still farther west—to send envoys to Joshua who pass themselves off as belonging to a far-distant country, and thus succeed in obtaining an alliance with Israel.[7] The kings of five important Amorite cities farther south—Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon[8]—then

[1] Joshua iii. 1–iv. 20.

[2] Joshua vi. The ancient site of Jericho is now known as Tell es-Sulṭân, a large mound which lies in the Jordan valley five miles west of Jordan, and at the foot of the central range of hills, close to the mouth of the Wâdy el-Kelt, which affords a passage into the Hill-country, and is thought to be the ancient valley of Achor. The modern Jericho (Erîḥâ) lies one and a half miles south of Tell es-Sulṭân.

[3] Probably Ḫirbet Ḥayyân, about three miles south-east of Bethel (Bêtîn).

[4] Joshua vii. 1–viii. 29.

[5] El-Ǵîb, five miles NNW. of Jerusalem, and one mile due north of Neby Samwîl, the ancient Mizpah.

[6] The name Kephirah is preserved in the modern Kefîrah, five miles WSW. of el-Ǵîb. Beeroth may be el-Bîrah, about nine miles north of Jerusalem on the road to Shechem, and four miles NNE. of el-Ǵîb. Kiriath-jearim is probably Ḳuryet el-'Enab on the carriage-road from Jerusalem to Jaffa, about seven miles WNW. of the former city, and some five miles south-west of el-Ǵîb. For the grounds upon which this identification is based cf. Burney, *Judges*, p. 430.

[7] Joshua ix. 3–26.

[8] Jarmuth was situated in the Shephelah (Joshua xii. 11, xv. 35). Its site

make an attack upon Gibeon on account of its defection to the invading Israelites; Gibeon sends an urgent summons to Joshua for assistance; and the Israelite leader immediately makes a forced night-march from his camp at Gilgal in the Jordan valley, and falling suddenly upon the Amorites at Gibeon succeeds in routing them, and pursues them westward by the way of Beth-horon as far as Azekah and Makkedah, in, or bordering on, the lowlands to the west of the central range,[1] capturing and executing the five Amorite kings.[2]

All this narrative of the campaign in southern Canaan, in so far as it gives us a description of the course of military events, is formed by combination of elements from the two old narratives J and E, emanating respectively from the Southern and Northern Kingdoms, which can be traced throughout the Pentateuch; though literary analysis makes it clear that in the Book of Joshua the composite narrative from J and E, constructed as in the Pentateuch by a redactor R^{JE}, has been subsequently re-edited by an historian of the Deuteronomic school, whom we may call R^{D}

is commonly supposed to be marked by the modern Ḫirbet el-Yarmûḳ, sixteen miles WSW. of Jerusalem. Lachish has almost certainly been identified in the important site Tell el-Ḥesy, some thirty-four miles south-west of Jerusalem, where the Shephelah meets the maritime plain: cf. Petrie, *Tell el-Hesy*; Bliss, *A Mound of many Cities*. Two miles north of Tell el-Ḥesy is Ḫirbet ʿAǧlân, which accurately preserves the name of Eglon. The site, however, shows few traces of ancient remains, and it is likely that the name may have been shifted to a new site after the destruction of the ancient city: cf. Cheyne in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1204.

[1] The two Beth-ḥorons—still distinguished, as in Biblical times, as Upper Beth-ḥoron (Bêt-ʿûr el-fôḳa) and Lower Beth-ḥoron (Bêt-ʿûr et-taḥta)—lie, the former five miles, the latter somewhat under seven miles, WNW. of Gibeon (el-Ǧîb), and command one of the most important roads from the maritime plain into the Hill-country, the route being one of the three employed by General Allenby in his attack upon the Turkish position at Jerusalem (cf. *Dispatch*, § 18). Azekah and Makkedah are unidentified. As the site of the latter, Sir Charles Warren has suggested el-Muġâr ('the Caves') in the vale of Sorek, some twenty-five miles west of Gibeon and two and a quarter miles south-west of ʿEkron (ʿÂḳir), upon the ground that 'at this site alone, of all possible sites for Makkedah in the Philistine plain, do caves still exist' (cf. Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, iii, p. 218 a), the existence of a well-known cave at this site being postulated by the narrative in Joshua x. 16 ff. If, however, the Azekah with which Makkedah is coupled is the city of that name mentioned in 1 Sam. xvii. 1 as in the vale of Elah (Wâdy es-Sunṭ) not far from Socho (Ḫirbet Šuwêḳeh), the inference is that the Amorites did not extend their flight far out into the maritime plain, but turned left-handed in order to regain the shelter of the hills by one of the southern passes.

[2] Joshua x. 1–27.

(Deuteronomic Redactor). This editor's additions, however, which are easily distinguishable by their strongly-marked Deuteronomic phraseology,[1] do not up to this point modify the course of military operations as narrated in JE; his comprehensive statement in ix. 1, 2 that 'all the kings that were beyond Jordan', from the Lebanon southward, 'were gathered together to fight with Joshua' immediately after the capture of Ai, and *before* narration of the events which led to the limited league of the five Amorite kings in the south against Gibeon, being so obviously without sequel in the succeeding narrative that it hardly affects our conception of it in the slightest degree. After the narrative of the defeat of the Amorite kings, however, we have, from the hand of R^D, a summary account of the conquest of southern Palestine,[2] in which it is stated that Joshua captured Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Gezer, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir.[3] Finally, the editor concludes with the statement that the whole of southern Palestine, except the maritime plain belonging to the Philistines, fell into Joshua's hands. He mentions 'the Hill-country' or central range; 'the Negeb', i. e. the arid steppe-region extending from a little south of Hebron, where the hills gradually sink, to Kadesh-Barnea about fifty miles south of Beer-sheba; 'the Shephelah' or Lowland, i. e. the range of low hills or downs lying between what was subsequently the Judaean Hill-country to the east and the maritime plain to the west, and extending as far north as the vale of Aijalon;[4] and 'the Slopes', i. e. the fall of the Hill-country to the maritime plain north of Aijalon, where no Shephelah or Lowland intervenes.[5] It is, however, to be noticed that Judges i. 16, 17 attributes the conquest of the Negeb to the tribes of Judah and Simeon acting in concert apart from the co-operation of the other tribes; and the capture of

[1] Cf. Driver, *Introd. to the Literature of the O. T.* (9th ed.), pp. 99 ff., 105 ff., 116.

[2] Joshua x. 28–43.

[3] Libnah is unidentified. The site commonly accepted for Debir is ez-Ẓâhariyyeh, about eleven miles south-west of Hebron, but the identification is purely conjectural, and is open to more than one objection. Conder's statement (*Tent Work*, p. 245) that Debir 'has the same meaning' as ez-Ẓâhariyyeh is wholly incorrect: cf. Burney, *Judges*, pp. 10 f. On Gezer cf. p. 20, and on the other cities mentioned p. 12, foot-notes.

[4] This (as pointed out by G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, pp. 201 ff.) seems to represent the proper usage of the term Shephelah, though there are indications of a wider and looser usage including under the term the maritime plain of Philistia. Cf. Burney, *Judges*, pp. 7 f.

[5] On the difference of physical configuration south and north of the vale of Aijalon, which is accurately indicated by the distinction in nomenclature, cf. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, pp. 203 f.

Debir, or Kiriath-sepher, and Hebron is represented in Joshua xv. 14–19 = Judges i. 10–15 as due to Caleb the Kenizzite. It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that R^D ascribes to Joshua more than he actually carried out, and that we have in his summary a mere generalization for which no facts from ancient sources were forthcoming. This conclusion we shall presently substantiate through examination of the document embodied in Judges i.

We next hear, in *ch.* xi, of a confederation of the kings of northern Palestine under Jabin, king of Hazor.[1] The kings of the cities of Madon, Shimron, and Achshaph[2] are specified in *v.* 1; but *v.* 2 adds inclusive reference to 'the kings that were on the north, in the Hill-country, and in the Arabah to the south of Chinneroth, and in the Lowland, and in the heights of Dor on the west, the Canaanites on the east and on the west, and the Amorites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Jebusites in the Hill-country, and the Hivvites under Hermon in the land of Mizpah'.[3] It seems clear that this verse, with its allusion to six out of the 'seven nations' of Canaan, including the Jebusites who are otherwise known only as inhabitants of Jerusalem in the south, is, to some extent at least, an editorial amplification. On this occasion for the first time the Israelites had to encounter a foe equipped with chariots and horses. Joshua met and defeated them at the waters of Merom,[4] the defeat was followed up and turned into a rout, their horses were captured and destroyed and their chariots burnt. The

[1] The name Ḥazor seems to be preserved in the modern name of the valley Merǵ ('meadow') el-Ḥaḍîrah on the northern side of the Wâdy 'Auba which runs into the lake of Ḥûleh, and in Ǵebel ('hill') Ḥaḍîrah immediately to the east of the 'meadow'. There are no traces of an ancient city upon this hill, and it is therefore supposed that Ḥazor may have been one of the ruined sites upon the hills still farther east: cf. Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, p. 236.

[2] The *name* Achshaph is accurately reproduced in Ḫirbet Iksâf a little south of the great bend of the river Litâny, though it may be doubted whether this identification suits the mention in Joshua xix. 25, where a city of this name is enumerated as belonging to Asher. The other two cities are unidentified.

[3] It is probable that 'Hittites' and 'Hivvites' have here accidentally changed places (cf. LXX, Cod. B), and the same change is to be made in Judges iii. 3 (cf. Burney, *Judges*, *ad loc.*). 'The land of Mizpah' seems to be the same as 'the valley (Hebrew *biḳ'ā*) of Mizpah' in *v.* 8, i. e. probably the southern portion of the great plain between the two Lebanon-ranges now called el-Buḳâ'. On the use of the term Shephelah, 'Lowland', in application to a region in northern Canaan cf. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, p. 203, n. 3.

[4] The site is uncertain, identification with the lake of Ḥûleh being very precarious. Cf. S. A. Cook in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 3038.

remainder of the chapter (*vv.* 10–23) is from the hand of R^D. In *vv.* 10–15 this editor generalizes the effect of Joshua's victory in the north, just as he has already done in the case of southern Palestine. It is stated that Joshua captured and burned the city of Hazor, and then proceeded to take the cities of *all* the kings who had joined in the confederation, together with the kings themselves, placing them and their subjects under the ban, and utterly destroying them. The chapter closes with an editorial summary of the conquests of Joshua throughout Palestine.

Thus we have reviewed the account given in the old (JE) narrative of Joshua's conquests in Canaan. We find that these conquests are divided into two campaigns: (1) a campaign in southern Palestine in which the cities of Jericho and Ai are captured, and a coalition of five Amorite kings is defeated and cut to pieces; and (2) a campaign in northern Palestine in which Jabin, king of Hazor, heads an indefinite number of the kings of the north, and the arms of Israel are again victorious. We have seen, further, that R^D regards Joshua's conquests as more far-reaching than the old narrative seems to warrant, assuming that he not only defeated the northern and southern confederacies in pitched battle, but also followed up his victories by capturing the cities of the north and south so thoroughly that practically the whole of the Hill-country of Palestine fell into Israel's hands through Joshua's exertions and during his lifetime. A list of the kings conquered by Israel under Moses and Joshua is given by R^D in *ch.* xii; and in *ch.* xiii. 2–6 we have a notice from this editor of the territory still remaining unconquered, which may be summarized as the southern part of the maritime plain from the border of Egypt[1] as far north as Ekron, the most northerly of the five principal cities of the Philistines; the Phoenician coast-land stretching from Accho northwards;[2] and

[1] 'From the Shihor which is before (i. e. eastward of) Egypt.' The reference probably is to the eastern (Pelusiac) branch of the Nile. The usual definition of the south-western boundary of Canaan is 'the wâdy of Egypt' (נחל מצרים), i. e. the modern Wâdy el-ʿArîš.

[2] Reading '*and from Accho* which belongeth to the Zidonians, unto Aphek'. We amend וּמֵעַכּוֹ (a suggestion not hitherto offered) in place of the incomprehensible וּמְעָרָה of M. T. (R. V. 'and Mearah'), where the מ is clearly the preposition מן defining the starting point (cf. *v.* 3 מן השיחור). Sennacherib's enumeration of the Phoenician cities makes Accho the southernmost:—'Great Ṣidunnu, Little Ṣidunnu, Bît-zitti, Ṣariptu, Maḫalliba, Ušû, Akzibi, Akkû' (cf. *Taylor Cylinder*, col. ii, l. 38). Aphek is probably the modern Afḳa, near the source of the Nahr Ibrâhîm.

the Lebanon with its environs.[1] This practically represents the state of affairs during the greater part of the monarchy-period.

Let us now turn to Judges i, which offers us a portion of an old document of the first importance for the history of Israel's settlement in Canaan. As the chapter now stands in the Book of Judges, it professes to give us an account of events which happened 'after the death of Joshua' (*v.* 1), as related in Joshua xxiv. 29, 30 (E). The editor who prefixed this statement to the chapter assumes that he is taking up the narrative from the point reached in the closing chapter of the preceding book. The proper continuation of Joshua xxiv is found, however, in Judges ii. 6 ff., where *vv.* 6–9 (narrating Joshua's dismissal of the people after his farewell-address recorded in Joshua xxiv, the fact that the people served Yahweh during the lifetime of Joshua and the elders who survived him, and the death and burial of Israel's great leader) are almost verbally identical with Joshua xxiv. 28, 31, 29, 30. So far from dealing with events which happened subsequently to Joshua's death, the old narrative incorporated in Judges i. 1–ii. 5 pictures Israel as still encamped at Gilgal (ii. 1), or close by at Jericho (i. 16), shortly after the passage of the Jordan, and before the tribes had entered upon their inheritances. Judges ii. 6–iii. 6 is the real introduction to Judges as the book left the hand of the main editor, and *ch.* i. 1–ii. 5 has been added by a later editor for the purpose of explaining the unsettled condition of affairs as related in the narrative of Judges by the addition of details known to him which had not been incorporated by the main editor in *his* introduction.

From examination of the phraseology of the old narrative embodied in Judges i. 1–ii. 5 the fact emerges that it is derived from the Judaean document J.[2] Extracts from the same narrative

[1] Reading וְהָאָרֶץ הַגְּבָלָת בַּלְּבָנוֹן 'and the land which bordereth on the Lebanon' (i.e. Coele-Syria), with Buhl and Steuernagel, in place of M. T. וְהָאָרֶץ הַגִּבְלִי וְכָל־הַלְּבָנוֹן, in which the first two words will not construe (R. V. 'and the land of the Gebalites' demands an original וְאֶרֶץ הַגִּבְלִי).

[2] The following words and phrases in Judges i. 1–ii. 5 are characteristic of J:—'the Canaanites' as a general term for the inhabitants of Palestine (E uses 'the Amorites' in the same general sense), i. 1; 'the Canaanites and the Perizzites' coupled, i. 5; 'at the first' (בתחלה), i. 1; 'deal kindly with' (lit. 'do kindness with', עשה חסד עם), i. 24; 'dependencies' (lit. 'daughters', בנות), i. 27 five times; 'and it came to pass, when' (ויהי כי), i. 28; 'dwelt in the midst of' (ישב בקרב), i. 29, 30, 32, 33; 'prevailed' (lit. 'was heavy', כבד), i. 35; 'the Angel of Yahweh', ii. 1. Cf. the list of characteristic J phrases in Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hexateuch*, i, pp. 185 ff.

are to be found in the Book of Joshua, several of them being parallel to passages in Judges i, and, where not identical in wording, appearing in a more original form. Thus Joshua xv. 14–19 = Judges i. 20, 10 b (in part), 11–15; Joshua xv. 63 = Judges i. 21; Joshua xvi. 10 = Judges i. 29; Joshua xvii. 11–13 = Judges i. 27, 28. Further extracts from the same narrative, not contained in Judges i, are found in Joshua xiii. 13, xvii. 14–18, xix. 47, and probably in Num. xxxii. 39, 41, 42.[1]

Now the picture drawn by this old narrative of Israel's settlement in Canaan differs from that of R^D in Joshua in two respects. In the first place, the conquest of various districts is represented as due to the efforts of individual tribes. And, secondly, the tribes, in making their settlement, appear in many or most cases to have been unable to drive out or exterminate the races in possession, and to have been content to settle down side by side with them, making their way, eventually, largely by a process of more or less peaceful penetration.

We read first that the tribe of Judah enlisted the mutual co-operation of Simeon, and attacked and conquered Adoni-Bezek, who seems to have been king of Jerusalem (*vv.* 3–7). There is reason for thinking that the name Adoni-Bezek is a corruption of Adoni-Zedek; and, if this is so, it is not unlikely that this Adoni-Zedek is the same that appears in the story of the Amorite league against Joshua, and that we have here a variant tradition as to his fate. According to this tradition, the Judaeans contented themselves with cutting off the king's thumbs and great toes, thus disabling him for warfare; and the narrative then informs us that 'they (i.e. we must assume, Adoni-Bezek's own followers) brought him to Jerusalem, and he died there'. The late editor, however, doubtless concluding that the subject of the verb is the victorious Judaeans, inserts at this point the statement that 'the children of Judah fought against Jerusalem, and took it, and smote it at the edge of the sword, and the city they set on fire' (*v.* 8). This assertion, however, is directly contradicted by the statement of the old narrative a little farther on (*v.* 21) that 'the children of Benjamin (or, according to the parallel passage in Joshua xv. 63, 'the children of Judah'[2]) did not dispossess the Jebusites dwelling in Jerusalem;

[1] The original form of the narrative has been skilfully reconstructed by Budde, *Richter und Samuel*, pp. 84 ff. Cf. also Burney, *Judges*, pp. 47 ff.

[2] The reading 'Judah' is the more original. The alteration to 'Benjamin' in Judges i. 21 was probably made by the editor in accordance with Joshua xviii. 16 P, which, in describing the lot of the children of Benjamin, makes the

but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Benjamin (Joshua, "Judah") in Jerusalem unto this day.' The correctness of the old narrative, as against the editor, is corroborated by the story of Judges xix, according to which Jerusalem in the days of the Judges is 'a city of the Jebusites . . . a city of foreigners who are not of the children of Israel' (*vv.* 10–12); and also by the fact that the capture of the Jebusite stronghold was one of the great achievements of David in the early years of his reign (2 Sam. v. 6 ff.).

Following on this, the editor states that the Judaeans advanced against the Canaanites dwelling in the Hill-country, the Negeb, and the Shephelah, and attacked and captured Hebron, smiting the Anakite clans which dwelt there (*vv.* 9, 10). The following verses (*vv.* 11–15) are parallel to Joshua xv. 14–19, from which it is clear that it was the Kenizzite clan of Caleb, and not the tribe of Judah as a whole, which captured Hebron. From this point of vantage Debir, or Kiriath-sepher, fell to Othniel, a leader, or more probably a subordinate clan, of the clan of Caleb.

We are next informed (*vv.* 16, 17) that Hobab the Kenite,[1] Moses' father-in-law, accompanied the Judaeans into the Negeb, and settled down among the Amalekites[2] (among whom, it may be remembered, we find the Kenites in the narrative of Saul's campaign against the Amalekites: 1 Sam. xv. 6). Judah then goes with Simeon and smites the Canaanites inhabiting Zephath (an unidentified site in the Negeb), devoting the city to destruction—whence, according to the old narrator, the name by which the city was subsequently known was Ḥormah (interpreted as meaning 'devoted to the *ban*': Heb. *ḥérem*). On this little narrative we shall have more to say in the next lecture.

The editor then states that Judah captured the Philistine cities Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron,[3] 'with the borders thereof,' i.e. the contiguous territory (*v.* 18). This editorial statement is contradicted by the very next verse (*v.* 19), which belongs to the old narrative, where it is stated that 'Yahweh was with Judah, and he

border run south of Jerusalem so as to include the city, and mentions it among the cities belonging to the tribe in *v.* 28.

[1] Reading וְחֹבָב הַקֵּינִי with most modern commentators in place of M. T. וּבְנֵי קֵינִי 'And the children of Kenite', which cannot be original, since the gentilic adjective 'Kenite' cannot be used of an individual without the article, which is tacitly inserted in R. V.

[2] M. T. הָעָם 'the people' is clearly a remnant of an original הָעֲמָלֵקִי, which occurs as a doublet (*μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ* Ἀμαλήκ) in the LXX MSS. defsz (notation of Brooke and McLean) and Coptic. Old Latin 'cum eo Amalec'.

[3] The modern Ġazzeh, 'Asḳalân, and 'Âḳir.

gained possession of the Hill-country; for he was not able to dispossess the inhabitants of the Vale, because they had chariots of iron'. The Vale (Heb. *hā-'ēmeḳ*) is the regular term for the maritime plain in which these Philistine cities were situated.

The narrative next passes (*vv.* 22 ff.) to the doings of 'the house of Joseph', a term which may include not merely Ephraim and Manasseh, but also Benjamin. We read that they 'went up' to Bethel[1] (i.e. presumably, 'up' from the camp at Gilgal in the Jordan valley), and having captured a Bethelite and learned from him the most advantageous point for assault, they smote the city 'at the edge of the sword', i.e. without giving quarter to the inhabitants. This account seems to picture an independent attack made by the Joseph-tribes upon the Hill-country, and we shall see later on that this surmise is probably correct. In the narrative of Joshua viii. 17 the men of Bethel are mentioned as aiding the men of Ai to repel Israel's attack upon the latter city; but the reference, which finds no place in the LXX text, is out of harmony with the context, and is almost certainly to be regarded as a late gloss. We have no account in the Book of Joshua of the capture of Bethel, though R^D in Joshua xii. 16 mentions the king of Bethel in the list of kings smitten by Joshua.

Then follows (*vv.* 27–29) reference to the failure of the Joseph-tribes to dislodge the Canaanites from their strongholds. Manasseh was unable to capture a series of fortified cities lying to the north of the central Hill-country on the southern border of the great plain of Esdraelon. These are enumerated as Beth-shean in the fall of the plain to the Jordan valley in the east, Ibleam in the centre, and Taanach and Megiddo farther west;[2] as well as Dor upon the sea-coast,[3] which we know from the Egyptian story of Wenamon[4] to have been, at or about this time, in the possession, not of the Canaanites, but of the Ṯakkara, a people who invaded Palestine together with the Philistines during the reign of the Egyptian king Ra'messe III. These cities, with their 'daughters' or smaller dependencies, thus formed a belt across the land, to some

[1] The modern Bêtîn, about ten miles north of Jerusalem.

[2] The first three names are preserved in the modern Bêsân, the Wâdy Bel'ameh (cf. the form בִּלְעָם, 1 Chron. vi. 70, Heb. Text *v.* 55), and Tell el-Ta'annuk. Megiddo is identified with Tell el-Mutesellim ('the mound of the governor'), an important ancient site five miles north-west of Tell el-Ta'annuk.

[3] Probably the modern Ṭanṭûrah, some eight miles north of Caesarea.

[4] Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv. §§ 557 ff.; Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 202 ff.

extent cutting off the Joseph-tribes from the Israelite tribes farther north. We read that 'when Israel was waxen strong, they impressed the Canaanites for labour-gangs', but, it is significantly added, 'they did not drive them out at all.' Similarly, Ephraim, farther south, 'did not dispossess the Canaanites who dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of them in Gezer'. With this statement it is hard to reconcile the assertion of R^D in Joshua x. 33 that, when Horam, king of Gezer, came to the assistance of Lachish, 'Joshua smote him and his people until he had left him none remaining.' It will be recollected that Gezer was still in the hands of the Canaanites in the reign of Solomon, when it was captured and burnt by the Pharaoh who was king of Egypt at that time, and given as a dowry to his daughter on the occasion of her marriage with the Israelite king (1 Kings ix. 16). Gezer is situated upon an outlying spur of the Shephelah, overlooking the Philistine plain, and about eighteen miles west-north-west of Jerusalem.

We now reach a narrative of the greatest interest and importance in the history of the settlement of the Joseph-tribes. We have just seen that the tribe of Manasseh, though apparently successful in effecting a settlement in the Hill-country to the south of Esdraelon, was debarred from entrance to the great plain through failure to conquer the belt of Canaanite cities which guarded its southern extremity. At this point in the narrative, then, there seems originally to have followed the passage from the old document J which now stands in Joshua xvii. 14–18. The house of Joseph approach Joshua and complain that they have only received *one* lot, which is insufficient for their numbers, the extent of this lot being further diminished owing to the fact that part of it falls in the Vale (i.e. the plain of Esdraelon), where the Canaanites are too strong to be ousted owing to their possession of iron chariots. Joshua, in acknowledging the justice of their complaint, recommends them to go up 'into the forest' and cut down for themselves, this forest being further described as 'Hill-country' in *v.* 18. That the reference, however, cannot be to any part of the Hill-country west of Jordan seems to be clear. The situation presupposed is that the west-Jordan country has already been allotted among the tribes, and the house of Joseph have not found the difficulties of gaining a footing in the portion of Hill-country (in contrast to the Vale) allotted to them to be insuperable. Thus Prof. Budde[1] has suggested, with great plausibility, that the Hill-

[1] *Richter und Samuel*, pp. 32 ff.

country which Joshua invites them to conquer is the Hill-country of *Gilead*, which is appropriately described as *yá'ar*, forest, or jungle-land.[1] The sequel is found by Budde in the passage from J which now stands in Num. xxxii. 39, 41, 42, describing the successes of Manassite clans in the Gilead region. Finally, there probably followed the J passage Joshua xiii. 13, which mentions the fact that the Aramaean clans of the Geshurites and Maachathites were not expelled by Israel from their positions east of Jordan. The whole narrative, then, with some slight omissions in Joshua xvii. 14 ff. which are clearly due to textual conflation,[2] seems originally to have run as follows:—'And the house of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, "Why hast thou given me but one lot and one territory for an inheritance, seeing that I am a great people, forasmuch as hitherto Yahweh hath blessed me? The Hill-country doth not suffice for me; and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the Vale have chariots of iron, both they that are in Beth-shean and its dependencies, and they that are in the vale of Jezreel." And Joshua said unto the house of Joseph, "Thou art a great people, and hast great power: thou shalt not have one lot only. For the Hill-country of Gilead shall be thine: get thee up into the forest and cut down for thyself there; since the Hill-country of Ephraim is too narrow for thee." Then Machir the son of Manasseh, went to Gilead, and took it, and dispossessed the Amorites that were therein. And Jair the son of Manasseh went and took the tent-villages thereof, and called them the tent-

[1] Cf. the account of David's battle with the forces of Absalom in 2 Sam. xviii. The scene of the battle is in Gilead, in a forest country (*yá'ar*). The characteristics of the region are the same at the present day. G. A. Smith speaks of 'the ridges of Gilead, where the oak branches rustled and their shadows swung to and fro over the cool paths'; and, again, states that 'Gilead, between the Yarmuk and the Jabbok, has its ridges covered by forests, under which you may march for the whole day in breezy and fragrant shade' (cf. *Historical Geography*, pp. 521, 522).

[2] The words of *v.* 15 בארץ הפרזי והרפאים 'in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim', which are wanting in LXX, are probably a corrupt doublet of the following כי אין לך הר אפרים 'since the Hill-country of Ephraim is too narrow for thee'. The main part of *v.* 18, with its five-times-repeated כי and its apparent ascription of iron chariots to the Canaanites inhabiting the Hill-country, appears in its present form to be due to the Priestly editor as a weak summary of *his* view of the situation, viz. that what is contemplated is a further extended conquest west of Jordan. Other editorial additions are *v.* 15a 'And Joshua said . . . great people' (from *v.* 17), *v.* 16a 'And the children of Joseph said' (an addition necessitated by the dislocation of *v.* 15), *v.* 17 'to Ephraim and to Manasseh', explanatory. The order of the remainder is *vv.* 14, 16, 17, 18a (down to 'thine'), 15.

villages of Jair. And Nobah went and took Kenath and its dependencies, and called it Nobah after his own name. But the children of Israel did not dispossess the Geshurites and the Maachathites; but Geshur and Maachath dwelt in the midst of Israel, unto this day.'[1]

The remainder of the old narrative refers to the very indifferent successes of four other tribes in establishing themselves west of Jordan; viz. Zebulun and Asher in the north; Naphtali possibly in the north, where we find the tribe in later times; but more probably south-west of Ephraim in the neighbourhood of Dan, which is the fourth tribe mentioned. Zebulun, north of Manasseh in the plain of Esdraelon, failed to dispossess the inhabitants of Kitron and Nahalol, 'but the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of them, and became labour-gangs' (*v.* 30). Asher was even less successful. Failing to drive out the Canaanites from the coast-cities of Phoenicia, from Accho northwards, they 'dwelt in the midst of the Canaanites inhabiting the land; for they did not dispossess them' (*vv.* 31, 32). The phrase 'dwelt in the midst of the Canaanites'—in contrast to 'the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of them', as is said of Ephraim and Zebulun—embodies a distinction with a difference, implying that the Phoenician Canaanites all along continued to hold the upper hand. The case was similar with Naphtali, who failed to dispossess the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath, and 'dwelt in the midst of the Canaanites inhabiting the land'; though the narrative adds the statement that the inhabitants of these cities 'became labour-gangs for them' (*v.* 33). As for Dan, we are informed that the Amorites—or, as we should probably read, the Canaanites[2]—pressed them out of

[1] In favour of the conclusion that the settlement of half Manasseh east of Jordan took place through an overflow-movement from the west of Jordan, we may note the fact that, according to the narrative of Num. xxxii. 1, it is the tribes of Reuben and Gad only that petition Moses to allow them to settle east of Jordan in the portion of Gilead already conquered (south of the Jabbok); though reference to half Manasseh is introduced at the end of the narrative (*v.* 33) by the hand of the redactor, and Deut. iii. 13 ff. makes the assigning of east-Jordan territory to part of this tribe the work of Moses. The kernel of Num. xxxii is clearly old (JE), though it has been worked up with portions of the document P by a late redactor. Cf. Gray, *Numbers* (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), p. 426; Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hexateuch*, ii, p. 239. An old allusion to Gad's claim to territory east of Jordan, and to his undertaking to assist in conquering the west-Jordan territory, is perhaps to be found in the so-called 'Blessing of Moses', Deut. xxxiii. 21.

[2] The use of the term 'Amorites', here and in *v.* 35, as a general designation for the inhabitants of Canaan (elsewhere in the narrative called 'Canaanites',

their settlements in the Shephelah and maritime plain into the Hill-country, 'for they did not suffer them to come down into the Vale' (*v.* 34). The original continuation of this notice is found in Joshua xix. 47, which (with a necessary emendation[1]) runs as follows: 'So the border of the children of Dan was too strait for them; and the children of Dan went up, and fought with Leshem, and took it, and smote it at the edge of the sword, and took possession of it, and dwelt therein; and they called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father.' This migration is further related in Judges xviii, where the conquered city is called Laish (*vv.* 7, 27). Thenceforward Dan figures in the phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba' as the northernmost limit of Palestine.

We have left discussion of the position occupied by Naphtali, as pictured in our old narrative, until after mention of the enforced movements of the tribe of Dan. It is usually assumed that the tribe was occupying its northern home as defined in the late Priestly document Joshua xix. 32–39, a district to the north of Zebulun, bounded by the territory of Asher on the west, and by the Jordan on the east. Prof. Steuernagel[2] has suggested, however, with considerable plausibility that, since Naphtali and Dan were originally offshoots of a single stock (sons of the handmaid Bilhah; i.e. probably, originally forming a single tribe known as Bilhah), and since Dan at first dwelt south-west of Ephraim, Naphtali's early home was probably in the same neighbourhood, and he, like Dan, was obliged eventually to seek a home farther north. Thus, in the statement that 'Naphtali did not dispossess the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath' (*v.* 33), the reference may be to the *southern* Beth-shemesh, i.e. the modern 'Ain-šems which stands on an eminence south of the Wâdy Ṣarâr (the ancient 'vale of Sorek') and within sight of the Danite city Zorah on the northern side of the wâdy. The mention of Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath in the north (where neither has been identified) in Joshua xix. 38 is then a later assumption, based on the fact that Naphtali eventually occupied a northern position. This view gains some support from the blessing of Naphtali in Deut. xxxiii. 23

in accordance with the regular practice of J) is strange. Probably the term has been substituted by a later hand, under the influence of the textual corruption 'Amorites' for 'Edomites' in *v.* 36. Cf. discussion in Burney, *Judges*, ad loc.

[1] Read וַיֵּצֶר . . . מֵהֶם 'was too strait for them', in place of וַיֵּצֵא . . . מֵהֶם, R. V. 'went out beyond them'.

[2] *Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan*, pp. 28 f.

—'Possess thou the Sea and the South' (ים ודרום ירשה). Here Naphtali (according to Steuernagel) appears, like Dan, to be hard pressed by foes, and the wish is expressed that he may exert his power and conquer the Philistine maritime plain (*yām*), and the *dārôm* or South, i.e. the Shephelah, which is so designated in later Jewish usage.[1] On the ordinary assumption that Naphtali is here pictured as occupying his final northern position, 'Sea' is explained as the sea of Galilee; but no commentator has succeeded in offering a plausible explanation of *dārôm*.

Following on the notice of the fortunes of Dan, the statement is made that 'the Amorites persisted in dwelling in Har-heres, in Aijalon, and in Shaalbim; yet the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed, and they became labour-gangs' (*v.* 35).[2] The only one of these cities which has been certainly identified is Aijalon, the modern Yâlô on the southern side of the vale into which the pass of Beth-horon opens out (the vale of Aijalon, Joshua x. 12). The other cities were doubtless in the same district, and must have formed, with Gezer and Jerusalem, a belt of strongholds more or less shutting off the Joseph-tribes from Judah on the south. This concludes our information from this old J document, in so far as it concerns the settlement of Israel within the land of Canaan.

The conception which we have formed from our survey of this old narrative of Israel's settlement in Canaan may be summarized, then, as follows: In the southern Hill-country the tribe of Judah, with certain Kenizzite (Caleb, Othniel) and North Arabian (Kenite) elements which were subsequently reckoned as part of the tribe, and with the tribe of Simeon, makes its way by gradual conquest, especially in the Negeb; but is debarred from expansion into the western maritime plain by the Philistines with their iron chariots, and has in the Hill-country to the north the Jebusite stronghold of Jerusalem still unreduced, and, we may suppose, to some extent at least, dominating the district in its vicinity. In the centre the Joseph-tribes successfully occupy the Hill-country, but are shut off from the plain to the south-west by Canaanite strongholds; the Canaanites in this direction, who were themselves doubtless feeling the pressure of the Philistine immigrants on their western side, having succeeded in ousting the main part of Dan, and possibly

[1] Cf. Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, pp. 62 f.; Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, p. 85; and references in *Onomastica Sacra* ('the name-lists' of Eusebius and Jerome, ed. P. de Lagarde) to Daroma, where we find such cities as Eleutheropolis, Eshtemoa, and Ziklag assigned to this region.

[2] On the use of the term 'Amorites' cf. p. 22, n. 2.

also Naphtali, from positions which these tribes had at first attempted to occupy, and in compelling them to seek a fresh home in the extreme north. North of the Joseph-tribes is a belt of Canaanite cities extending right across the land where the Hill-country falls to the plain of Esdraelon, and continued to the coast in the maritime plain south of Carmel. North of this, again, the remaining west-Jordan tribes live as best they can among the Canaanites whose strong cities they are (so far as our information goes) quite unable to reduce. Dan indeed succeeds in obtaining a new home in the far north by right of conquest; but Zebulun and Naphtali, in so far as they eventually gained a position of predominance, seem to have done so by peaceful penetration rather than by more drastic means.[1] Asher always remains subordinate to the Canaanites upon the northern coast-land (the Phoenicians). Issachar is unmentioned in this narrative, probably through accidental editorial omission; but, if we may repair this omission through the allusion to this tribe in 'the Blessing of Jacob', Gen. xlix. 14, 15, it seems to have been no better off than Asher, for there we read:

> 'Issachar is a strong ass,
> Couching down between the sheep-folds:
> And he saw a resting-place that it was good,
> And the land that it was pleasant;
> So he bowed his shoulder to bear,
> And became a toiling labour-gang.'

In later times the population of this northern district remained largely foreign. It is called by Isaiah (viii. 23) *Gᵉlîl hag-gôyîm*, 'the circuit (*or* district) of the heathen'; and is elsewhere distinguished as *hag-Gālîl*, 'the circuit' (Joshua xx. 7, xxi. 32; 1 Chron. vi. 61; 1 Kings ix. 11), i. e. the Galilee of New Testament times.

Comparing this ancient presentation of the character of Israel's settlement in Canaan with that which we have in Joshua i–xii as edited by R^D, it is obvious (1) that the two cannot stand side by side as equally authentic narratives of the course of events, and (2) that, in making our choice between the two presentations, we are bound to attach far greater weight to that which pictures the conquest as gradual and partial than to the other which conceives of it as comparatively thoroughgoing and complete. For, supposing the theory of R^D in Joshua to be correct, we can offer no

[1] Cf. however the interpretation of the tradition as to the battle with Jabin, king of Hazor, and his allies offered on p. 53.

explanation why the theory of J in Judges i should ever have been put forward; but, on the other hand, supposing the account of the old J document to represent the historical course of events, we *can* explain the existence of R^D's theory as the reading of the conditions of a later time (David's reign and onwards) into the period of Israel's first occupation of the Promised Land. It is even more obvious that we cannot make use of the Priestly document[1] incorporated in Joshua xiii. 15–xxi. 42, which defines the heritages of each of the tribes, as historical evidence for the state of affairs existing at the close of Joshua's lifetime. This document is of immense value for the topographical information which it affords, and as an indication of the districts occupied by the different tribes at a period when Israel became practically dominant in Palestine and the tribes had been welded into a nation, i.e., we may say approximately, from the reign of David and onwards; but the view which regards Joshua as settling by lot the districts to be occupied by the tribes in such a thorough and final manner as to define with precision the boundaries between the different heritages, is of a piece with the view which supposes the whole of Palestine with the exception of the maritime plain occupied by the Philistines and Phoenicians to have fallen completely into the hands of the Israelites as the fruits of Joshua's victories—a view which, as we have seen in the light of earlier evidence, does not represent the historical course of events.

[1] This document, though of the same character and age as the document P in the Pentateuch, cannot be shown to have belonged originally to the same source. It may very well have originally formed an independent document. The part which is borne by the Priestly writer in Joshua seems to be somewhat different to that which is fulfilled by P in the Pentateuch. In Gen.-Num. the narrative of P is to a large extent complete in itself, and forms as it were the framework of the narrative. In Joshua i–xii, on the other hand, the traces of the Priestly hand are comparatively insignificant, amounting in all to some $10\frac{1}{2}$ verses.

LECTURE II

THE BIBLICAL TRADITION EXAMINED

(Continuation)

In my first lecture I contrasted the picture of Israel's settlement in Canaan drawn by the old J document in Judges i with that which we find in Joshua i–xii as edited by R^D. We noticed that, while the former represents this settlement as gradual and partial in character, affected mainly by the efforts of individual tribes, and only meeting at first with a very limited measure of success, the latter exhibits it as a well-organized and victorious campaign of the whole of the Israelite tribes under the leadership of Joshua, resulting comparatively speedily in the reduction of all Canaan from south to north, with the exception of the sections of the maritime plain and coast occupied by the Philistines and Phoenicians and the Lebanon-district with its immediate environs. Our conclusion was that J's view is more nearly authentic than that of R^D in the Book of Joshua, the latter resulting from the reading of the conditions of later ages, from David onwards, into the earlier history of Israel in Canaan. If, however, R^D's conception of the thoroughgoing character of the conquest and settlement of the tribes under Joshua was not to be regarded as historical, still less were we able to accept as historical the theory of the Priestly document in Joshua xiii. 15–xxi. 42, which regards the accurate delimitation of the whole of Canaan among the tribes as Joshua's crowning achievement.

We now have to notice that there is one particular in which the J narrative of Judges i seems, as it stands, to agree with the conception of the Deuteronomic redactor and the Priestly writer in the Book of Joshua. The tribes of Israel, however isolated and single-handed they may appear according to this narrative in winning each a footing for itself, yet seem to be pictured as starting from a common point in the Jordan-valley—Gilgal (Judges ii. 1) or Jericho (Judges i. 16), and as having each its special heritage predetermined by lot, and therefore, we may assume, under the direction of a common leader and arbiter, viz. Joshua. Judah, at

any rate, is pictured as saying to Simeon his brother, 'Go up with me into my lot, that we may fight against the Canaanites, and I also will go up with thee into thy lot' (*v.* 3).

There exist weighty reasons for holding this conception of an early organized unity of the tribes as the reading of later conditions back into a period when they were not so existent. Evidence, when carefully weighed, seems to postulate the conclusion that Joshua was not the leader across Jordan of a united body of twelve tribes, but of a certain section only—the Joseph-tribes, and that the remaining tribes entered Canaan and won their heritages by other means and at other periods. The evidence for this conclusion depends partly upon internal Biblical indications and partly upon the external indications supplied by archaeology. The latter we shall have to notice in the final lecture. To-day we must more closely examine the Biblical evidence; and we will begin by taking two outstanding instances in which tribal settlements clearly seem to have been made independently of Joshua.

The account of the conquest of Arad[1] in the Negeb by Judah and Simeon, which is given in Judges i. 16, 17, cannot be considered apart from the very similar narrative which is found in Num. xxi. 1–3 (J). This latter narrative states that, during the period of Israel's sojourn in the wilderness, the king of Arad advanced against them, apparently because they were encroaching upon his territory, fought against them, and took some of them prisoners. Israel thereupon vowed a vow to Yahweh that, if Yahweh would deliver up the Canaanites into their hands they would place their cities under a ban (*ḥérem*), and utterly destroy every inhabitant. On the successful issue of the battle the vow was performed; and the name of the district was thereafter known as Ḥormah, a name in which there is an assumed connexion with *ḥérem*.

This narrative, which implies a northward advance of Israel into the Negeb, is at variance with the preceding narrative in Numbers (xx. 14–21 JE), which seems to picture the whole of the Israelites as turning southwards from Kadesh in order to compass and avoid the land of Edom. It is also difficult to understand why an immediate settlement in the conquered territory was not effected by at least a portion of the Israelites, when the whole of the Canaanites inhabiting it had been put to the sword. The author

[1] The modern Tell 'Arâd, described by Robinson (*Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 3rd ed., ii, p. 101) as a 'barren-looking eminence rising above the country round'. The site lies seventeen miles nearly due south of Hebron.

of the introduction to Deuteronomy, who apparently bases his information upon E, gives, in i. 41–6, an account of a disorganized attempt made by the Israelites to conquer the Negeb, after the failure of the mission of the spies, and against the express command of Moses. This was repulsed by 'the Amorite who inhabited that Hill-country', Israel being put to the rout, and beaten down 'in Seir as far as Ḥormah'. This narrative corresponds with Num. xiv. 40–5, which apparently combines elements from J as well as from E, and in which the foe appears not as 'the Amorite', but as 'the Amalekite and the Canaanite' (*vv.* 43, 45). No mention is made in Deuteronomy of Israel's subsequent success, and their extirpation of the inhabitants of the district; and we are probably correct in inferring that these details were not contained in the E source.

The question is further complicated by the account of the conquest of Arad which occurs in Judges i. 16, 17. Here it is the tribes of Judah and Simeon, together with the Kenites, who are related to have effected the conquest, moving southwards from the City of Palm trees (i. e. Jericho) subsequently to the passage of the Jordan under Joshua. As in the narrative of Numbers, however, the origin of the name Ḥormah is explained by the fact that the Canaanites inhabiting a city (previously named Zephath) were smitten, and the city placed under the ban and utterly destroyed.

The narratives of Num. xxi. 1–3 and Judges i. 16, 17 are obviously parallel, and cannot, as they stand, be reconciled. It is easy to supply a reason for the occurrence of the narrative of Judges as a duplicate to that of Numbers, viz. the view that all conquests and annexations of Canaanite territory by Israel took place under the direction of Joshua as part of a single organized campaign, and that no settlement of Israelite tribes in any part of Canaan can *ex hypothesi* have taken place prior to, or apart from, this one big movement; but, if the narrative of Judges be taken to be correct in its present position, it is not easy to divine why the narrative of Numbers should have pictured an incident of Joshua's campaign—the outcome of a movement *southward* from Jericho—as taking place during Israel's stay at Kadesh-Barnea, as the result of a *northward* movement from that district.

Adopting, then, the view that the position of the narrative as it stands in Numbers is the more correct, and that the conquest of Arad in the Negeb took place through a tribal movement northward from the neighbourhood of Kadesh, the inference becomes plausible that this movement was effected, as related in Judges, by the tribes

of Judah and Simeon in alliance with the Kenites. It is a well-known fact that the tribe of Judah consisted of mixed elements: the genealogy of 1 Chron. ii includes among the descendants of Judah the North Arabian tribes of the Kenites and Jerahmeelites, and the clan of Caleb which was of Kenizzite, i. e. of Edomite, origin (cf. Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, 42). Whether or not these clans originally formed an integral part of the tribe of Judah, it is clear that so early as the days of David they were regarded as standing in a very intimate relation to the tribe. In 1 Sam. xxvii. 7 ff., which relates David's stay as an outlaw with Achish, king of Gath, we read that David made pretence to Achish that his occasional raids were directed 'against the Negeb of Judah, and against the Negeb of the Jerahmeelites, and against the Negeb of the Kenites'; and Achish remarks to himself with satisfaction, 'He hath made *his people Israel* utterly to abhor him; therefore he shall be my servant for ever.' Again, in 1 Sam. xxx. 26–31, David sends presents 'of the spoil of the enemies of Yahweh' to the Judaeans of the Negeb, including the Jerahmeelites and the Kenites.

If, then, clans which originally inhabited the region south of the Negeb are subsequently found occupying the Negeb and forming part of the tribe of Judah, what is more probable than that this change of locality was effected through conquests gained in the Negeb by a movement directly northwards, as is suggested by the narrative of Num. xxi. 1–3?

We seem, in fact, to be upon the track of an ancient Calibbite tradition, embodied in the Judaean document J, which originally narrated the way in which this northward movement was effected by the clan of Caleb, and probably other kindred clans.[1] It may be conjectured that this tradition lies at the bottom of the older (JE) narrative of the mission of the spies which is combined with the P narrative in Num. xiii and xiv. In this older narrative (in contrast to that of P) it is the Negeb only which is explored; Caleb is the only spy who is mentioned by name; and it is Caleb only who maintains, against the opinion of the other spies, that the conquest of the district is quite a feasible undertaking, in spite of the race of giants—the sons of Anak—inhabiting it: 'We can easily go up and possess it,' he says, 'for we are well able to overcome it' (Num. xiii. 30).[2]

[1] Cf. Stanley A. Cook, *Critical Notes on O. T. History*, pp. 38 f., 81 f.

[2] P's narrative of the spies, as compared with that of JE, is an instructive example of the reading back into earlier history of the conception of the organic unity of the twelve tribes, as realized in later times. While in JE the

As a matter of fact, the conquest of these sons or clans of Anak and their cities is directly ascribed to Caleb in Joshua xv. 14–19 = Judges i. 20, 10 b (in part), 11–15, from the narrative of J. Is it not, then, at least a plausible theory that the original Calibbite story related that Caleb, after first spying out the Negeb, then proceeded to go up and conquer it?

It seems probable that the present form of the combined JE narrative of the spies, which makes the project of conquest fail in spite of Caleb's protests, is due to the theory that the conquest of any part of Canaan did not take place until the country as a whole was invaded by a combined movement from the east made by the whole of the tribes under the leadership of Joshua. This theory, as we have seen, accounts for the present form of Judges i. 16, 17, which makes the conquest of the Negeb to have been effected through a movement which took its start from Jericho.

It is the Judaean document J which embodies the Calibbite tradition in Num. xxi. 1–3. The Ephraimite E, on the other hand (which is naturally the principal repository of the Joshua-tradition), from which is drawn the narrative which is found in Deut. i. 41–6, while mentioning the defeat of the Israelites, knows nothing, or at any rate will have nothing, of the subsequent victory as narrated by J.

Our inference, then, is that clans which went to form the tribe of Judah (including North Arabian clans then or subsequently embodied in the tribe) advanced northward from Kadesh-Barnea; and, in combination with the remnant of the tribe of Simeon (which, as we shall see later, after a disastrous attempt to effect a settlement in Central Palestine, appears to have moved southward), conquered the territory of Arad, and settled down in it, afterwards advancing their conquests farther north, into the country which is known to us later on as the Hill-country of Judah.

If this inference be correct, it will help to explain to us a very

number of spies is not mentioned and only Caleb is named, in P they are twelve, one from every tribe (so in Deut. i. 23), and their names are given; in JE they confine their investigations to the Negeb and the Hill-country to its immediate north, as far as Hebron (xiii. 22), but according to P they explore the land 'from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob, to the entering in of Hamath' (xiii. 21), i. e. the whole of the territory which subsequently belonged to Israel, when the kingdom was at the zenith of its prosperity (the reigns of David and Solomon). For an analysis of the narrative cf. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hexateuch*, ii, pp. 204 ff.; Gray, *Numbers* (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), pp. 138 ff.

striking fact in the later history, viz. the isolation of Judah and Simeon from the rest of the tribes. From the Song of Deborah, which celebrates the great victory over the forces of Sisera, it is clear that an organized attempt was made on that occasion to unite the tribes of Israel against the Canaanites. Ten tribes, including the tribes from the east of Jordan, are mentioned, either for praise as having taken part in the contest, or for blame as having held aloof. Judah and Simeon alone remain unnoticed. We must infer, therefore, that at that period they were so far isolated from the rest of the tribes that they were not even expected to take part in the common interests of Israel, and therefore received no call to arms. This single instance is in itself so striking that we need do no more than allude briefly in passing to the fierce rivalry which is pictured as existing between the men of Israel and the men of Judah in the days of David (2 Sam. xix. 41–3), and to the fact that the superficial union between Judah and the rest of the tribes which was effected under Saul, David, and Solomon, was readily dissolved at the beginning of Rehoboam's reign.

Another striking instance in which our old J narrative ascribes to Joshua's initiative a movement which almost certainly took place independently of him—in this case at a later period—is seen in the migration of clans of Manasseh across the Jordan from west to east. The evidence which we have to notice concerns the important clan of Manasseh which bore the name of Machir. Machir is mentioned in the redactional passage Joshua xvii. 1 b. 2 R^P as the first-born son of Manasseh, and in Num. xxvi. 29 P as the only son—a description which clearly implies that it was the predominant clan of its tribal group. Both passages associate Machir with the land of Gilead east of Jordan: in Joshua he is 'the father of Gilead' (הַגִּלְעָד 'the Gilead', i. e. clearly *the district* and not a person), and is termed 'a man of war', possessing 'the Gilead and the Bashan'. In the same passage of Numbers (*vv.* 30 ff.) six grandsons (sons of Gilead) are assigned to Machir, of whom at any rate Shechem [1] and Î'ezer, i. e Abi'ezer (cf. Joshua xvii. 2), pertained to the territory of the *western* division of Manasseh. In Joshua xvii. 1 b. 2 we find that the six *grandsons* of Machir according to P in Numbers are set down as his younger *brothers*.

If this late evidence were all the information which we possessed with regard to Machir, we should naturally infer that this pre-

[1] Vocalized שֶׁכֶם, whereas the city is always שְׁכֶם; but the identity of the two cannot be doubted.

dominant section of Manasseh settled first in Gilead, and that it was only subsequently that some of its clans made their way into central Canaan west of Jordan. If, however, the reconstruction of the original J narrative of the tribal settlement in Canaan which we adopted in the first lecture [1] is substantially correct, and Num. xxxii. 39, 41, 42 forms the sequel of Joshua xvii. 14 ff. which certainly belongs to this narrative, then Manasseh first of all effected a settlement in the Hill-country *west* of Jordan, and it was only subsequently to this that the clan of Machir, together with Jair and Nobah, finding their west-Jordanic territory too exiguous, pushed their way to the east of Jordan and made settlements there, acting, as we have seen (according to this narrative), at the advice of Joshua.

There is, however, another reference to Machir which is most important of all, since it comes from a document which is regarded, on good grounds, as contemporary with the events which it narrates. The Song of Deborah alludes to Machir among the patriotic tribes which responded to the call to arms. The passage in the poem (Judges v. 13–15) which refers to these tribes runs, as I read it,[2] as follows:

> Then down to the gates gat the nobles:
> Yahweh's folk gat them down mid the heroes.
> From Ephraim they spread out on the Vale:
> 'After thee, Benjamin!' mid thy clansmen.
> From Machir came down the commanders,
> And from Zebulun men wielding the truncheon.
> And thy princes, Issachar, were with Deborah;
> And Naphtali was leal to Barak:
> To the vale he was loosed at his heel.

Here we have Machir mentioned among west-Jordanic tribes, immediately after the other Joseph-tribes, Ephraim and Benjamin. It can hardly be doubted that the allusion is to *west* Manasseh. If this is not the case, there is no allusion at all to this part of Manasseh; and supposing that a tribe so intimately associated with the scene of the battle had refused its aid, it would certainly have been bitterly censured in the Song. On the other hand, Gilead east of Jordan *is* mentioned, independently of Machir, and is censured for holding aloof (*v.* 17); the reference probably being to the tribe of Gad, which inhabited the southern portion of Gilead (south of

[1] Cf. pp. 20 f.

[2] For the emendations adopted in this passage cf. Burney, *Judges*, ad loc.

the Jabbok). We seem, therefore, to have choice of two hypotheses. Either the term 'Machir' isused in the Song, by poetic licence, of Manasseh as a whole, and here refers to west Manasseh to the exclusion of Machir in Gilead; *or*, the Manassite settlements at this period were *west of Jordan only*; and the migration of Manassite clans (Machir, Jair, Nobah) to the east of Jordan, which the J narrative of the settlement supposes to have been carried out under the direction of Joshua, really only took place *later than the victory of Barak and Deborah*. This latter hypothesis is certainly to be preferred; and, if correct, it forms a second illustration of the fact that our old J narrative of the settlement assigns to the direction of Joshua movements which were really undertaken independently of him, and at a different period.

These facts being so, we now have to ask what credence we can attach to the tradition of an Israelite invasion of conquest from the east of Jordan under the leadership of Joshua. That Joshua is a genuinely historical figure, and that he actually did lead tribes across Jordan to the conquest of central Canaan, I see not the slightest reason to question. The combined J E tradition of a thrust from the east right across the Hill-country, along the line marked out by Jericho, Ai, Gibeon, Beth-horon, the vale of Aijalon, is certainly not pure invention. It may very likely have gained accretions and embellishments during the oral stage, in the course of telling and retelling; but that there underlies it a substratum of actual history is inherently probable to say the least. This much might be affirmed with some confidence if we were dependent merely upon J and E with the long course of oral transmission which must be presupposed for the traditions which they offer us relating to these early times. It must not, however, be overlooked that we have, in Joshua x. 12, 13 (probably from the narrative of E), one of those precious fragments from an ancient song-book which we meet with here and there in the old narratives. The narrator tells us that, during the pursuit of the Amorites, Joshua said in the sight of Israel,

> '"Sun, over Gibeon halt!
> And thou moon o'er the vale of Aijalon!"
> Then halted the sun, and the moon stood still,
> Till the folk requited its foes;'

and he adds the comment that the passage is derived from a written source, the Book of Jashar, from which are also derived David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. i. 17 ff., and (according

to the LXX text[1]) the words ascribed to Solomon at the dedication of the Temple in 1 Kings viii. 12, 13. Though the compilation of the Book of Jashar is obviously not earlier than the reign of Solomon (assuming it to be a fact that 1 Kings viii. 12, 13 was drawn from it), yet many of the poems contained in it were doubtless indefinitely ancient, and are more likely than prose-narratives to have been handed down substantially unchanged. Whether it be the product of a ballad-maker who sang of the traditions of a much earlier time, or (as is quite possible) a contemporary composition like the Song of Deborah and David's Lament, the poetical fragment in any case offers us an additional source of confirmation for the events to which it refers, and that in written form certainly older than the prose-traditions of J and E.

Who, then, were the tribes that, under the leadership of Joshua, made this bold and comparatively successful bid for supremacy in Canaan by force of arms? Not Judah and Simeon in the south, as we have seen. Hardly, again, the tribes which Judges i simply pictures as *there* in Canaan maintaining a precarious footing in the midst of the Canaanites, whose fortified cities they could not reduce, and to whom they appear at first, to some extent at least, to have been subordinate. The fact is surely noteworthy that, apart from Judah and Simeon (with whom we have dealt), the only tribes to whom our old J narrative attributes any *conquest* are the central group, the Joseph-tribes, whom we find attacking and capturing Bethel, two or three miles north-west of Ai, which was captured, according to the Joshua-narrative, by Joshua's forces. The passage in Judges i certainly seems to picture an independent attack made by the Joseph-tribes upon the Hill-country, to which they *go up*, i. e. presumably, from the Jordan-valley after the passage of the river;[2] and it is not improbable that it originally formed part of a longer account in which this section of Israel carried out its campaign under the leadership of Joshua. This is the view of Budde, who suggests that J's narrative originally ran, 'And the house of Joseph went up to *Ai*', and then followed on with an account of the capture of Ai, as in Joshua viii, before mentioning

[1] This adds the words *οὐκ ἰδοὺ αὕτη γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ* (var. *ἐπὶ βιβλίου*) *τῆς ᾠδῆς*; Here *τῆς ᾠδῆς* = השיר, a transposition of היישר.

[2] This is the natural implication of the verb ויעלו (cf. *ch.* ii. 1, where we should read 'Bethel' in place of 'Bochim'). The expression 'to go up' is sometimes used, however, in a more general way of a military expedition: cf. Judges xii. 3, xviii. 9; 1 Sam. vii. 7; Isa. xxi. 2, xxxvi. 10.

the reconnaissance and capture of Bethel.[1] 'In the statement of *v.* 22, 'and Yahweh was with them,' some uncertainty attaches to the reading 'Yahweh', if we are to assign any importance to the evidence of one of the two Greek versions representing the text of the LXX. which offers the reading 'Judah' in its place.[2] Budde has suggested, with some boldness yet not without considerable plausibility, that under both readings, 'Yahweh' and 'Judah', there lies an original 'Joshua'—'and Joshua was with them'. A sufficient reason for the excision of the name of Joshua, and the substitution of the reading of our text, is furnished by the fact that the late editor who prefixed Judges i. 1–ii. 5 to the Book of Judges, and who, as we have seen, was responsible for a number of additions to the narrative, professes to be giving an account of events which happened 'after the death of Joshua' (i. 1).

Assuming, then, that it was the Joseph-tribes only that were led by Joshua across Jordan to the conquest of a settlement in Canaan, it follows in all probability that, if tradition is correct in making Joshua the successor of Moses in the leadership of Israel, the tribes whom Moses led out of Egypt at the Exodus were not the whole of Israel as the term was subsequently understood; but that certain elements which eventually formed part of the nation must have gained their footing by other means and at other periods. This is a conclusion which, as we shall see in the next lecture, seems to be forced upon us by external evidence; and it agrees with the conception, such as it is, which we gather from Judges i of the other tribes that are mentioned—a conception which suggests that they were settlers on sufferance among the Canaanites who held the fortified cities, and that it was not till they had made their way as much by racial vigour and productivity as by anything else, that they eventually gained the predominance. We shall probably not be far wrong if we picture them at first as forming part of the floating semi-nomadic population, pressing in from the barren steppes to the north-east, which has always formed an element in the settled life of Canaan. This at any rate is the conception which we form of the position of Israel in Canaan from the patriarchal legends of Genesis; and it is to these legends that we shall have in

[1] Cf. *Richter und Samuel*, pp. 57 f.

[2] Ἰούδας is the reading of Abcgklntvwxz(mg)𝔏Eus (notation of Brooke and McLean). This group represents the version which is the more independent of the Massoretic text, and which offers many readings which are intrinsically of high value (cf. Burney, *Judges*, Introd. p. cxxvii). The other version reads Κύριος.

some degree to extend our investigations, if, as has now become evident, we cannot limit it to the era which begins with Joshua's invasion.

Let us first examine the earlier fortunes of Simeon, the tribe which we have already found in the extreme south of the Negeb, seeking, in alliance with Judah, a more settled footing in southern Canaan through a northward move against the king of Arad. In the story of Gen. xxxiv Simeon, together with Levi, gains an unenviable notoriety through a treacherous massacre of the Canaanite Bᵉnê-Hamor inhabiting the city of Shechem in the Hill-country of central Canaan. The story is one in which beyond a doubt we are dealing with the doings of tribes under the guise of individuals. Shechem, the son of Hamor, who contracts an alliance with Jacob's daughter Dinah, is clearly not an individual, but the personification of the city whose name he bears. We can hardly picture two *men* effecting, without extraneous aid, the massacre of all the males of one of the most famous cities of ancient Canaan, even if these latter were placed by circumstances in a semi-defenceless state. The terms of Jacob's expostulation with his 'sons' let us at once into the true meaning of the tale: 'Ye have troubled me, to make me stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and Perizzites, *I being a few men*; and they will gather themselves together against me and smite me; and I shall be destroyed, I and my house' (*v.* 30).[1] The inference which we may justly draw as to the true meaning of the tale is as follows: The small Israelite tribe of Dinah enters into terms of friendly alliance and intermarriage with the Bᵉnê-Hamor of Shechem, an event which excites the resentment of the tribes of Simeon and Levi.[2] Under cover of friendly overtures these two latter tribes treacherously attack the Shechemites when off their guard, and effect a general massacre. That the action of the Simeon and Levi tribes was repudiated by the remainder of Israel is apparent from Jacob's words which have just been quoted; but it is still more evident from the section dealing with this tribe in the old poem of Gen. xlix, a passage

[1] We here shift the principal break in the verse (*'Athnaḥ*) from ובפרזי to מתי מספר, and connect the circumstantial clause ואני וגו׳ with the words which precede it, as is natural to do.

[2] It is of course possible, as suggested by Dr. Skinner (*Genesis* in *Internat. Crit. Comm.*, p. 421), that Dinah was not a weak Israelite clan, but that 'a literal outrage of the kind described was the cause of the racial quarrel which ensued'. Skinner refers to Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ii, p. 114, for a modern parallel.

which throws light on the ultimate issue of the treacherous act, suppressed in the prose-narrative.

The opening couplet of these verses (*vv.* 5–7) offer us one of the great *cruces* of Old Testament textual criticism; and though many attempts have been made to solve it, no one of these can be regarded as affording satisfaction. It is perhaps too much to hope that I have succeeded in solving finally a problem which has puzzled the ingenuity of Hebrew scholars for two thousand years; but I trust that I may be thought at any rate to have thrown some further light upon it. I read the passage thus:

'Simeon and Levi are hyenas;
Fully have they shown the ruthlessness of their stock.
Into their council let not my soul enter!
In their assembly let not my spirit[1] join!
For wrathfully they slew a man,
And wantonly they hamstrung an ox.
Cursed be their wrath, for it was fierce,
And their fury, for it was cruel:
I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel.'

Here the emendation 'hyenas' (אֲחִים) for 'brethren' (אַחִים) has already been suggested by Dr. Ball.[2] It is supported by the

[1] Reading כְּבֵדִי, lit. 'my liver' (LXX *τὰ ἥπατά μου*), for כְּבוֹדִי 'my glory'—a correction which is doubtless to be made also in Ps. vii. 6, xvi. 9, xxx. 13, lvii. 9, cviii. 2. Among the Hebrews, as among the Babylonians (cf. the use of *kabittu*), the liver seems to have been regarded as the seat of feeling and mental disposition.

[2] Cf. *Genesis* in *SBOT.*, p. 107. אֲחִים only occurs once besides in the Old Testament (Isa. xiii. 21), where it denotes an animal haunting desolate ruins. The word is perhaps the same as the Babylonian *aḫû*, a synonym of the Sumerian UR-BAR-RA (Brünnow 11274) which may mean 'savage dog' (animal of the dog-class)—a suitable designation for the hyena—if BAR has here the sense *aḫû* 'hostile', *la mâgiru* 'not amenable', which is assigned to it in syllabaries. The reference to the UR-BAR-RA which one naturally calls to mind occurs in the Babylonian Flood-legend (Gilgameš-epic XI, col. iv, ll. 20 ff.), where the god Ea, in expostulating with the god Enlil for causing the Flood, says:

'Instead of thy causing a flood,
Let lions attack and diminish mankind.
Instead of thy causing a flood,
Let UR-BAR-RA attack and diminish mankind.'

Here UR-BAR-RA (commonly read as *barbaru*, a synonym of *aḫû*; cf. Brünnow 11276) has been variously explained as the leopard (Ball, Zimmern) or panther (Jeremias), wolf (Ungnad, Rogers, Barton), wild dog (Jensen), hyena (Sayce), jackal (Delitzsch, Jastrow). We may remark that animals of the *cat*-species, such as the leopard, cannot be ruled out owing to the fact that Sumerian UR

fact that four or five of the other tribes (Judah, Issachar, Dan, Benjamin, and perhaps Naphtali) are compared with animals; and it certainly relieves the difficulty of the Hebrew text, the explanation 'brother-spirits in character and disposition', or the like, being somewhat forced. The emendation of stichos 2 (which is involved in the greatest obscurity) makes but a very slight change of the original,[1] and offers us a good Hebrew sentence, explaining the

means 'dog'; the lion itself being regularly denoted by the ideogram UR-MAḠ ('great dog'; Babylonian *nêšu, labbu, urmaḫḫu*). Yet the leopard, though one of the fiercest of beasts when wounded or cornered, and a great pest to flocks, is not usually dangerous to man if unmolested, nor does it ordinarily develop man-eating propensities (cf., however, Jer. v. 6, and Roosevelt, *African Game Trails*, p. 285). The jackal and wild dog are obviously inadequate to the situation depicted. Wolf and hyena remain; but the ordinary Babylonian name for wolf is *zîbu* (= Heb. זְאֵב), which is written ideographically UR-BI-KU, i. e. perhaps 'ravenous dog' (the same group of ideograms stands for *âkilu*, 'eater'; cf. Brünnow 11289–90), or NU-UM-MA. In view of the modern example cited on p. 41, n. 1 (the sleeping-sickness camp), it is clear that hyenas can become a frightful scourge to a primitive community reduced by disease or famine (we have to think of children and other weaklings as much as of grown men); and in any case, where man-eating lions abounded (as pictured), we may be quite sure that hyenas would not be far off, and would form a good second in carrying out the loathsome task upon which Ea suggests that the beasts might be employed.

Thus the identification of אֹחַ with the hyena is not *certain*, though it is entirely suitable. Even if Babylonian *aḫû* could be proved to mean 'wolf', this would not necessarily militate against Heb. אֹחַ meaning 'hyena'; for while Bab. *zîbu*, Heb. זְאֵב, Syr. *dîbâ*, Ar. *ḏi'b* denotes the wolf, the same word in Ethiopic, *zĕ'ĕb*, is applied to the hyena (cf. Dillmann, *Lex. Ling. Aeth.* 1056). If we are right in reading אֹחִים in Gen. xlix. 5, the meaning 'wolves' is excluded by the fact that Benjamin is compared with this animal (זְאֵב); while the meaning 'jackals' for אֹחִים in Isa. xiii. 21 seems equally to be excluded by the occurrence of תַּנִּים, the ordinary term for this beast, in *v.* 22. It is probable that צְבָעִים means 'hyenas' (cf. Arabic *ḍabu'*) in the place-name גֵּי הַצְּבָעִים (1 Sam. xiii. 18); but this does not tell against אֹחַ denoting the same animal. Cf. the analogy of the place-name שַׁעַלְבִּים, שַׁעַלְבִּין, which proves that Hebrew (or Canaanite) possessed the word שַׁעֲלָב = Arabic *ṯa'lab*, 'fox'; whereas the ordinary Heb. term for fox is שׁוּעָל. Some animals, e.g. the lion, are denoted by several different names. The explanation of the name Simeon (שִׁמְעוֹן) as identical with the Arabic *sim'*, an animal supposed to be the offspring of the male hyena and the female wolf, might, if correct, have formed a contributory reason for the Hebrew poet's taking the hyena as typical of the tribe. The Arabs believe that certain men have peculiar affinities to the hyena (cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, 2nd ed., pp. 231 f., 237).

[1] In place of בְּלֵי חָמָם מְכֵרֹתֵיהֶם read בְּלוּ חֲמַס מְכֵרֹתֵיהֶם, a change of one consonant only (the frequently confused ו and י) in the unpointed text. בְּלוּ

point of comparison with these loathsome beasts, and fitly introducing what follows. I take the meaning to be 'They are hyenas; and they have exhibited the inborn hyena-characteristic (ruthless ferocity of the most cowardly kind) to the utmost extent'. If, however, these two tribes are compared to an animal, the analogy of the other tribal comparisons leads us to expect that some habit of the animal selected should be explicitly indicated, in explanation of the comparison selected. We have this, e.g. in the case of Judah (*v.* 9):

> 'Judah is a lion's whelp;
> From the kill, my son, thou art gone up:
> He couched, he lay down like a lion,
> And like a lioness; who shall rouse him up?'

in place of כְּלֵי is presupposed by LXX *συνετέλεσαν*, and by the paraphrase of Targum Onkelos עבדו גבורא (= כלו חמס). For כָּלָה in the sense 'complete, do to the full, exhaust the possibilities of' the object denoted, cf. the application to the wrath of Yahweh: e.g. Lam. iv. 11, כִּלָּה יְ׳ אֶת־חֲמָתוֹ 'Yahweh *hath given full play to* His wrath;' so Ezek. v. 13, vi. 12, vii. 3, xiii. 15, xx. 8, 21. מְכֵרוֹת 'origin' or 'source of extraction' (perhaps literally 'place of digging out' from כור; cf. Isa. li. 1) occurs in Ezek. xvi. 3, xxi. 35 (plural as in our passage), xxix. 14 (singular); and the rendering 'stock' or 'strain' seems adequately to express the meaning. Pesh. ܡܓܢ ܟܝܢܘܗܝ seems to be a rendering of מְ[כֵרוֹתֵיהֶם], and possibly בְּ[מְכֵרוֹתֵיהֶם] underlies the paraphrase of the Targum of Onkelos, בארע תוחבותהון, though this may imply בְּמָגוֹרוֹתֵיהֶם. This is the opinion of Rashi, who, after explaining the difficult term from the Greek, adds a reference to Ezek. xvi. 3 in connexion with the Targum-rendering דבר אחר מכרותיהם בארץ מגורתם נהגו עצמן בכלי חמס כמו מכורותיך ומולדתיך וזהו תרגום של אנקלוס). Ibn Ezra thinks that the term is the equivalent of מכורותיך in the Ezek. passage, and supposes that the preposition ב is implied, the sense which he postulates being 'In the place of their origin' (והנכון בעיני שהוא מגזרת מכורותיך והוא חסר ב״ית כמו הנמצא בית יי׳ וג׳). The ordinary rendering of M. T. כְּלֵי חָמָס מְכֵרֹתֵיהֶם 'Weapons of violence are their swords,' depends upon the resemblance of מְכֵרֹתֵיהֶם to Greek *μάχαιρα*, and goes back ultimately to the Jewish interpreters. The meaning 'swords' cannot be philologically substantiated either by reference to the root כרר 'go round', so *rounded* or *curved* weapons, i.e. scimitars (Dillmann), or to כור 'dig', so *digging* weapons (Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 121; Vollers, *ZA.*, xiv, p. 355); and, as Ball justly remarks, a *prima facie* objection to the rendering is that all swords are instruments of violence. 'Marriage-contracts' (cf. Syriac ܡܟܪ *desponsare*) is adopted by Le Clerc and others with reference to Gen. xxxiv. 15 ff.; but these could scarcely be described as 'weapons'. Ball suggests a *ἅπ. λεγ.* מְכָרָה 'plot, scheme', from ברה 'dig' in a metaphorical sense, or (as supposed by de Dieu) from Arabic مكر 'lay plots', and reads כָּלוּ חָמָס מְכֹרֹתָם 'They have accomplished

Similarly, we read of Benjamin (*v.* 27):

'Benjamin is a ravening wolf:
In the morning he devoureth the prey,
And at evening he divideth the spoil.'

The metaphors of the ass and serpent, applied respectively to Issachar and Dan, are worked out in the same way (*vv.* 14, 17).

I believe that the hyena-metaphor is carried on in the couplet

'For wrathfully they slew a man,
And wantonly they hamstrung an ox.'

I have devoted some pains to investigation of the habits of these animals, since their well-known cowardice suggested a doubt whether they could be pictured as attacking a man, or a large animal like an ox. This investigation has shown that, while they are afraid of a sound and healthy man, they will not hesitate to attack a man when sick and off his guard.[1] We cannot fail to

the violence of their schemes.' Gunkel imagines the sense 'pits' from the same Arabic root, and emends כְּלִי וְחָמָס מְכֹרֹתָם 'Knavery and violence are their pits.'

[1] Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, in his *African Game Trails* (1910), pp. 58 f., states that 'the hyena, too cowardly ever to be a source of danger to the hunter, is sometimes a dreadful curse to the weak and helpless. ... On occasion the hyena takes to man-eating after its own fashion. Carrion-feeder though it is, in certain places it will enter native huts and carry away children or even sleeping adults: and where famine or disease has worked havoc among a people, the hideous spotted beasts become bolder and prey on the survivors. For some years past Uganda has been scourged by the sleeping-sickness, which has ravaged it as in the Middle Ages the Black Death ravaged Europe. Hundreds of thousands of natives have died. Every effort has been made by the Government officials to cope with the disease; and among other things sleeping-sickness camps have been established, where those stricken by the dread malady can be isolated and cease to be possible sources of infection to their fellows. Recovery among those stricken is so rare as to be almost unknown, but the disease is often slow, and months may elapse during which the diseased man is still able to live his life much as usual. In the big camps of doomed men and women thus established there were, therefore, many persons carrying on their avocations much as in an ordinary native village. But the hyenas speedily found that in many of the huts the inmates were a helpless prey. In 1908 and throughout the early part of 1909 they grew constantly bolder, haunting these sleeping-sickness camps, and each night entering them, bursting into the huts and carrying off and eating the dying people. To guard against them, each little group of huts was enclosed by a thick hedge; but after a while the hyenas learned to break through the hedges, and continued their ravages, so that every night armed sentries had to patrol the camps, and every night they could be heard firing at the marauders.' The present writer has been informed by Mr. C. V. A. Peel, a big game hunter of wide experience, that he once saw the body of a native boy of fifteen, who when very ill was

notice that it was in such circumstances that the two tribes are pictured as attacking the men of Shechem. The story of the circumcision-covenant, though belonging to a stratum of the narrative which is assigned to the late document P, might well be genuinely historical; and if it was in such circumstances that the treacherous attack was made, the odium of the crime would naturally be greatly enhanced. That hyenas will, if circumstances favour, attack an animal like an ox is also certain.[1] We must picture a pair of these beasts intent upon circumventing their victim. While one engages its attention in front, the other runs in behind unobserved, and bites through its hamstring, thus rendering it helpless. It is characteristic of the hyena to go for the legs of an animal in attacking;[2] and its jaws are so powerful that they will

dragging himself into hospital, and was attacked and killed by a hyena when he had nearly reached his destination.

Mr. Roosevelt further states (op. cit., pp. 59 f.) that 'occasionally men in full vigour are attacked. . . . Selous informed me that a friend of his, Major R. T. Coryndon, then Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia, was attacked by a hyena but two or three years ago. At the time Major Coryndon was lying wrapped in a blanket, beside his waggon. A hyena, stealthily approaching through the night, seized him by the hand and dragged him out of bed; but as he struggled and called out, the beast left him and ran off into the darkness. In spite of his torn hand the Major was determined to get at his assailant, which he felt sure would soon return. Accordingly, he went back to his bed, drew his cocked rifle beside him, pointing toward his feet, and feigned sleep. When all was still once more, a dim form loomed up through the uncertain light, toward the foot of the bed; it was the ravenous beast returning for his prey, and the Major shot and killed it where it stood.' This anecdote has been verbally corroborated to the present writer by Mr. R. T. Chicken, who is now a Commissioner in the same district. Mr. Roosevelt also mentions an instance of a native hunter, who was seized by a hyena as he slept by a camp-fire, and had part of his face torn off; and also a case in which a hyena entered a hut on the outskirts of Nairobi, and seized and killed a native man.

[1] Mr. Roosevelt states (op. cit., p. 60) that 'hyenas not infrequently kill mules and donkeys'. Canon Tristram says (*Natural History of the Bible*, p. 109) that 'when pressed by hunger, it will attack large animals. The ass of one of my servants was once devoured by the hyenas in the night, while he was sleeping close to it. They left nothing of it but the skull.' The Palestinian domestic ox is no bigger than a donkey; and both animals may constantly be seen ploughing together under one yoke. Three or four hyenas together have no hesitation in robbing the leopard of its prey. It is stated that the normal fate of lions, when old and feeble or if badly wounded, is to be killed and eaten by hyenas (cf. Roosevelt, op. cit., pp. 61, 355).

[2] The writer has this on the authority of Mr. R. I. Pocock, F.Z.S., who states that, when fighting among themselves, they always attack the legs. Mr. Roosevelt (op. cit., p. 60) speaks of their tearing open the bellies of mules and donkeys, and eating them while still alive. Mr. Peel has only observed them

snap bone and sinew with the greatest ease.[1] 'Man' and 'ox', then, are both typical of the Shechemites, just as the hyenas typify Simeon and Levi. If this is the true interpretation of the passage, we no longer have to explain the Hebrew terms for 'man' and 'ox' as collective; nor are we troubled by the fact that, according to Gen. xxxiv. 28, the two Israelite tribes did not thus mutilate the literal oxen, but drove off the flocks and herds as spoil.

The view put forward by some writers that we have in the narrative of Gen. xxxiv a reflection of events which took place in the period of the Judges, such e. g. as are narrated in the story of Abimelech and the Shechemites in Judges ix, is so patently improbable that it hardly calls for discussion. Apart from the consideration that the Abimelech-narrative bears intrinsic evidence that it is a piece of literal history, so true to the life that we seem to see every detail precisely as it occurred, whereas in Gen. xxxiv the typification of tribes as individuals suggests a much remoter past, we also have the very concrete fact that in Abimelech's time the central Hill-country in which Shechem was situated was certainly in the possession of the Joseph-tribes; while Simeon, as we have seen, was far down in the south, and Levi seems to have ceased to exist as a tribal entity. There is an interesting but obscure allusion in Gen. xlviii. 22 E which probably has a bearing on the question. Here the aged Jacob is pictured as saying to his son Joseph, 'Moreover I have given to thee one mountain-slope (lit. 'shoulder', Hebrew *Shechem*) above thy brethren, which I took from the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.' This can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as an attempt to explain how it was that Shechem (which is clearly denoted), which once belonged to Jacob, i. e. to one or more of the Jacob-tribes, by right of conquest, eventually passed into the possession of the Joseph-tribes.[2] Jacob bequeathed it to Joseph (so the legend ran)

attacking sheep, tied up as bait for lions, and states that they went for the throat, as would be natural in killing a small defenceless animal.

[1] The hyena will crack and eat the large bones of the lion's kill, of which the latter animal is unable to dispose. Cf. Sir S. W. Baker, *Wild Beasts and their Ways*, p. 323.

[2] At what period subsequent to Joshua's invasion Shechem became an Israelite city we cannot determine. In the time of Abimelech (Judges ix) it is still in the possession of the Canaanite Bᵉnê-Hamor, who live side by side with the Manassite clans of the district in relations of mutual toleration, if not of friendship. The E tradition embodied in Gen. xxxiii. 19, l. 24–26, Exod. xiii. 19, Joshua xxiv. 32 speaks of rights at Shechem acquired by purchase from the

upon his death-bed. This favours the conclusion that, at a period obviously remoter than the invasion of the central Hill-country by the Joseph-tribes under Joshua, some other section of Israel had laid claim to the city. Is not this a reflection of the events of patriarchal times, as related in Gen. xxxiv? We shall see later on from external evidence that this is probable.

If the Simeon and Levi tribes at one time held possession of Shechem through some such circumstances as are narrated in Gen. xxxiv, it is probable that their triumph over the Bᵉnê-Hamor was not very lasting. The terms of Gen. xlix. 7,

> 'I will divide them in Jacob,
> And scatter them in Israel,'

suggest, in fact, speedy reprisals on the part of the Canaanites, which decimated the two Israelite tribes and drove them far afield to seek a footing elsewhere. When, then, we find Simeon as a small tribe in the extreme south, seeking by the aid of Judah a footing in the Negeb, we may justly regard this as the sequel and outcome of the Shechem-incident, though how long subsequent it is not easy to divine.

What became, however, of the tribe of Levi, after its association with Simeon in the events of which we have been speaking? Here we touch upon one of the most vexed questions of Old Testament history—the question of the circumstances in which the predatory secular tribe pictured in Gen. xxxiv, xlix. 5–7 gained the position of a privileged class invested with the exercise of special priestly functions. The widely favoured view that there never really was a *tribe* of Levi, but that the name 'Levite' was the official title of any one who had received a technical training for the priestly office, whatever his tribe, seems, to my mind, to create more difficulties than it solves. It is based, in the main, upon the account of the antecedents of the Levite of Judges xvii. 7 ff., who, while he was *sojourning* merely in Ephraim, i. e. holding the position of a *gēr* or

Bᵉnê-Hamor, and may have an historical basis; but the later tradition (Joshua xxiv. 1 E²) according to which Shechem appears as the rallying-place of 'all Israel' on the occasion of Joshua's farewell-charge is clearly of a piece with the conception of the twelve tribes as an organic unity under the leadership of Joshua, and it is difficult to regard it as any more historical than Rᴰ's account (Joshua viii. 30–35) of Joshua's proceedings in the same locality (Ebal and Gerizim) in fulfilment of the provisions of Deut. xxvii. The first definitely historical allusion to Shechem as an *Israelite* city is 1 Kings xii. 1, where it figures as the centre to which 'all Israel' resorts in order to anoint a successor to Solomon.

stranger enjoying certain rights of protection while living with a tribe of alien origin to himself, is definitely stated to have had clan-connexion with the tribe of Judah (מִמִּשְׁפַּחַת יְהוּדָה, *v.* 7); and it is thought to gain support from Exod. iv. 14 (a passage which, though assigned to J, must belong to a relatively late stratum of that document), where Yahweh, in addressing Moses, speaks of 'thy brother Aaron the Levite'—a use of the term which, as applied to Aaron in distinction from Moses, certainly seems to denote profession rather than ancestry.[1] Support for this view is gained through certain considerations as to the meaning of the name Levi, which may be explained as denoting one who has *attached himself* to the priestly office, i. e. as we might say, a *cleric* in distinction from a layman.[2] The allusion to Levi in the so-called 'Blessing of Moses', Deut. xxxiii, a poem which probably belongs to the period of the divided monarchy, stands in marked contrast to the passage in the older 'Blessing of Jacob' which we have considered. In the 'Blessing of Moses', Levi, though figuring as a *tribe*, and on a par in this respect with the other tribes of Israel, is regarded exclusively from the standpoint of his exercise of priestly duties, the manipulation of the oracle of Urim and Tummim, the exposition of Yahweh's mind and will (His 'judgments' and His *tôrā*), and the offering of sacrifice. But when all has been said, the evidence of Gen. xxxiv, xlix. 5–7 as to the early existence of a purely secular tribe of Levi is too concrete to be explained away. Any such assumption as the supposition that the secular tribe died out and the priestly body took its place, the apparent identity in name being perhaps merely fortuitous, is entirely unwarranted; and the only legitimate course, upon the evidence which we possess, seems to be the holding to the Biblical tradition that a tribe originally secular came, through special circumstances, to be invested with priestly functions.

Is it possible to form a working theory as to the history of this transition, in connexion with our investigation of the early fortunes

[1] Cf. McNeile, *Westminster Commentary*; Driver, *Camb. Bible*, notes ad loc.

[2] Cf. the use of the verb לוה in Num. xviii. 2, 4 P, where the Levites are spoken of as *attached* to Aaron for the service of the Tabernacle (וְנִלְוּ, וְיִלָּוּ). The verb is used in a similar connexion in Isa. lvi. 6, which alludes to the strangers *who are attached* (הַנִּלְוִים) to Yahweh to minister to him. The theory gains greatly in plausibility if we may assume a connexion between *Lēwî* and the term *lawi'u* (fem. *lawi'at*) which, according to Hommel (*Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 278), is used in Minaean inscriptions to denote priests and priestesses of the god Wadd.

of the tribes of Israel? Available evidence is but slight, and is much obscured by accretions representing later points of view, and any such theory must therefore be largely tentative; yet it seems reasonable to suppose that the course of events may have run somewhat as follows. If Levi was the associate of Simeon in the treacherous outrage against Shechem, and suffered together with that tribe in the retribution which followed (as is suggested by Gen. xlix. 7), we may reasonably conjecture that, since the tribe of Simeon was driven to seek a new home in the far south, the tribe of Levi may have accompanied it to the same district. The expulsion of the two tribes from Shechem and its neighbourhood was doubtless not accomplished without much bloodshed, and it is probable therefore that both were considerably reduced in numbers. As a matter of fact, we have evidence which proves that in later days the tribe of Simeon was very small. The cities assigned to Simeon in Joshua xix. 1–8 P fall within the territory of Judah; and most, if not all, of them are reckoned to Judah in Joshua xv. 26–32, 42 P—a fact which indicates that Simeon eventually became little more than an element in the Judah tribe.

We picture, then, these two small remnants of tribes settled in the desert-region bordering on Egypt, in close contact, and on amicable terms, with their north Arabian neighbours—Kenites, Jerahmeelites, and the like—who, as we have seen,[1] eventually formed part of the tribe of Judah. Now we gather from Egyptian inscriptions that the Semitic Bedawin tribes bordering on Egypt were accustomed to move across the Egyptian frontier in time of drought and famine, and were readily admitted even after the fall of the Hyksos and under the restored Theban aristocracy of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Egyptian dynasties. There is one inscription in particular which is peculiarly illustrative. This belongs to the reign of Ḥaremḥeb, the first king of the Nineteenth dynasty, or as Professor Breasted thinks, to one of the later kings of the Eighteenth dynasty under whom Ḥaremḥeb held the position of general; and is attached to a mutilated relief depicting officials receiving instruction as to the reception of Asiatic refugees who, in time of distress, petition a home in the domain of Pharaoh, and base their request upon immemorial custom—'after the manner of your fathers' fathers since the beginning'. This, according to the inscription, is granted by Pharaoh.[2] Simeon and Levi, living where

[1] Cf. p. 30.

[2] Cf. J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, §§ 10 ff. A similar episode occurs in an inscription given in §§ 636 ff.

they did, would perforce be nomads; and would doubtless, like other nomad tribes of that neighbourhood, seek refuge in Egypt when moved to do so through the necessity of finding a livelihood. Here they would come into association with the Joseph-tribes, who may have been settled in Goshen, i.e. in the district of the modern Wâdy Ṭûmîlât just within the border, for some time previously. We recall the fact that, in the Joseph-story of Genesis, Simeon is mentioned as detained in Egypt at the command of Joseph (Gen. xlii. 24, 36 E, xliii. 23 R^{JE}). This would account for the birth of Moses of Levite parents in Egypt, and for the subsequent events through which he escapes from Egypt as a political refugee and settles in Midian,[1] receives a revelation at Sinai, leads the tribes out of Egypt, and conducts them to the scene of the Theophany, which lay probably in the neighbourhood of Kadesh-Barnea, south of the Negeb, which seems to have formed their head-quarters during the wilderness-period. We may here remark that the Egyptian names born by Moses and Phinehas offer valid evidence both for the historical existence of the bearers and from their Egyptian connexions.[2]

Tradition as to the circumstances which led to the investiture of

[1] The story of Moses' escape to Midian, where he marries the daughter of a Midianite chieftain and settles down for a time, is remarkably paralleled by the Egyptian tale of Sinuhe, who was a political exile in the reign of Sesostris I of the twelfth dynasty, some 700 years earlier. Sinuhe escapes from Egypt to a region in or near Canaan and is hospitably received by the local sheikh, whose daughter he eventually marries and becomes himself a sheikh of the tribe for some years, after which he returns, like Moses, to Egypt. The parallel shows how well within the range of historical probability the Biblical story lies. Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, i, §§ 486 ff.; Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 68 ff.; Alan Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (translation, pp. 168 ff.).

[2] It is highly probable (in spite of the difference of sibilant) that the name Moses (Hebrew *Mōšé*) is the Egyptian *Mosi* which enters as an element into a number of theophorous proper names, Ṭḥutmosi, Aḥmosi, Amenmosi, &c. The writer is informed by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith that *mosi* is probably a passive participle meaning 'born'. Thus e.g. Ṭḥutmosi would mean '(The god) Ṭḥut is born', and *Mosi* by itself might mean 'He (i.e. the god to whom dedication is made) is born' (cf. in Hebrew the use of such a name as Nathan, 'He has given,' by the side of the full form Jehonathan, 'Yahweh has given'), or it might simply have the meaning 'son'. As is well known, the derivation suggested in Exod. ii. 10, 'drawn out' (sc. from the water), is a mere assonance: *Mōšé* might conceivably be an active participle, 'drawing out,' but cannot possibly be interpreted as a passive. No other Hebrew derivation can be offered; and the fact that the name is *not* susceptible of interpretation from Hebrew, but *is* susceptible of interpretation from Egyptian, is a strong point in favour of the historical fact of Moses' Egyptian connexions The name פִּינְחָס *Pīnᵉḥās* is

the tribe of Levi with priestly functions seems to have fluctuated.[1] The one basic fact probably is that they inherited the privilege *from Moses*, who, according to Exod. ii. 1 E, was himself a member of the tribe. In the oldest tradition (cf. especially Exod. xviii. 14 ff., xxxiii. 7–11 E) it is Moses who occupies the position of supreme, or rather *sole*, exponent of religion as intermediary between Yahweh and Israel. Nothing, according to this tradition, is said of any participation by Aaron in these priestly functions—still less of his occupying the supreme position in the priesthood. In the only instance, indeed, in which Aaron is brought into connexion with the Tent of Meeting in the old narrative, he goes there with Miriam to receive a sentence of condemnation and rebuke for having ventured to speak against Moses, who is specified as God's servant with whom He is accustomed to speak mouth to mouth (Num. xii E). In view of these facts, it at once becomes obvious that, in the expression 'thy brother Aaron the Levite', Exod. iv. 14, to which we have already alluded, either the specification 'the Levite' does *not* distinctively denote priestly profession, or if (as seems more likely) it *does* do so, it must represent *the later point of view*, according to which Aaron and not Moses was the priest *par excellence*, and so is without value as regards any bearing upon the question of the *origin* of the Levites.

It seems not unlikely that, after a period spent in the neighbourhood of Kadesh-Barnea (the wilderness-sojourn), while the Joseph-tribes eventually broke off from this centre, and travelled round the land of Edom in order to enter Canaan from the east of Jordan, bearing with them the Ark of Yahweh with its priestly (Levitical) caretakers, the main part of the tribe of Levi, which *ex hypothesi* had even prior to the Exodus possessed associations with the north Arabian clans (subsequent elements in the tribe of Judah) inhabiting the region south of the Negeb, preferred, like Simeon, to throw in its lot with these Judaean clans, and so moved up northward with

clearly the Egyptian *Pe-nḥēsi*, 'the negro', i.e. 'child of dark complexion': cf. W. M. Müller in *Encyc. Bibl.*, and, for the general usage of the term *nḥēsi*, the same writer in *Asien und Europa*, p. 112.

[1] On the one hand, we have the tradition of Exod. xxxii. 25 ff. (J and E combined) where the zeal of the Levites on Moses' side as against the bull-worshippers is the cause of their selection; on the other hand, the allusion of 'the Blessing' in Deut. xxxiii. 8 seems to point to a tradition relating the testing of the fidelity of the tribe at Massah and Meribah (an explanation of the origin of these names different from that which is given in Exod. xvii. 7 JE, Num. xx. 13 P). Deut. x. 8 alludes to the selection of the tribe by Yahweh for the performance of priestly functions without specifying the circumstances.

them at their conquests in the Negeb and the Hill-country beyond it, which came later on to be known as the heritage of the tribe of Judah.

This theory appears satisfactorily to account for the tribal connexion of the Levites with Judah, as found e. g. in Judges xvii. 7 ff., xix. 1. It also offers an explanation of the story of the golden bull in Exod. xxxii, in which (at any rate in the form of the narrative which has come down to us) Aaron appears in an unfavourable light as the maker of the image, and the Levites in a favourable light as uncompromising adherents to the pure form of Yahweh-worship. The inference lies near to hand that the narrative, in its present form, was intended as a polemic against the bull-worship of the Northern Kingdom.[1] The words, 'These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt' (Exod. xxxii. 4) are identically the same as are put into the mouth of Jeroboam in 1 Kings xii. 28, in the account of that king's institution of the bull-worship at Bethel and Dan. As spoken by Jeroboam, the plural 'gods' naturally refers to the two images of Bethel and Dan; but in the Exodus-narrative it is difficult, if not impossible, to justify the plural as applied to a single image. If, then, at the period at which the story of Exod. xxxii took shape, 'Aaron' stands as the representative of the bull-worship of the Northern Kingdom, we may infer that 'the sons of Levi' are the priestly families of the kingdom of Judah, who are the champions of a purer form of cultus.[2] It seems to follow that, while the 'sons of Aaron' were connected with the early sanctuaries of the Joseph-tribes, Bethel, Shiloh, and Nob, the main Levite stock supplied the priestly needs of Judah in the days when this tribe lived in comparative isolation from the central and northern Israelite tribes;[3] though single

[1] The narrative of Exod. xxxii is composite, *vv.* 1-6, 15-24, 35 being assigned to E, and *vv.* 25-34 (in which the Levites figure as champions on Moses' side against the idolatry) to J; while *vv.* 9-14 exhibit marks of a later hand, and are usually attributed to the redactor R^{JE}. Both J and E (written from the standpoint of the *prophetic* schools of the two kingdoms) are keenly antipathetic to the bull-worship. It is possible, however, 'that—although Jeroboam himself appointed non-Levitical priests (1 Kings xii. 31) – there may have been among the priests of the calves some who traced their ancestry to Aaron, and claimed him as the founder of the calf-worship in Israel. If this were the case, it would make Aaron's condemnation the more pointed' (Driver, *Cambridge Bible*, ad loc.).

[2] Jeroboam's appointment of non-Levitical priests to his newly equipped sanctuaries (1 Kings xii. 31) may have been dictated by political motives, owing to the close association of the Levites with the tribe of Judah.

[3] It is worthy of notice that, though Samuel, who was an Ephraimite, held

Levites might wander northward in search of a livelihood through the exercise of priestly functions which they were fitted to discharge by birth as well as by training.

We have left ourselves but little time in which to speak of the early fortunes of the remaining Leah-tribes, Reuben, Issachar, and Zebulun; and, in fact, there is not much to be said apart from speculation of the vaguest kind. The patriarchal traditions regarding Reuben offer a considerable field for such speculation,[1] but admit of no clear-cut conclusions. This much, however, may be affirmed to be probable. (1) The tradition, which is common to J and E, that Reuben was the firstborn son of Jacob and Leah, indicates some kind of original predominance among the tribes, either through priority of settlement in Canaan or in respect of influence. (2) This predominance was lost at an early period, and the tribe dwindled and sank to a position of relative unimportance; cf. the references to the tribe in both 'the Blessing of Jacob' (Gen. xlix. 3, 4) and 'the Blessing of Moses' (Deut. xxxiii. 6). (3) Though eventually finding a home east of Jordan in southern Gilead, or rather in the *Mishôr* or table-land still farther south, Reuben seems originally to have settled, or to have attempted to settle, west of Jordan in the southern part of the central Hill-country. The evidence for these two last inferences is interconnected, and may briefly be summarized. The passage in 'the Blessing of Moses' which refers to Reuben,[2] and a prose-passage in Gen. xxxv. 22 J, speak of relations between Reuben and

a position at the sanctuary at Shiloh which we might have expected a Levite to fill, he *is nowhere termed a Levite*; and this is surely a very surprising fact upon the assumption that the term 'Levite' denotes official and not tribal status. His example goes to prove that in northern Israel at that period it was not deemed *necessary* that a priestly official should be a Levite by birth, rather than that a man trained for the priesthood, whatever his tribe, *ipso facto* became a Levite by profession.

[1] Cf. H. W. Hogg, article 'Reuben' in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

[2] The change to the third person at the end of the second line of the final couplet,

'Because thou wentest up to thy father's bed:
Then defiledst thou it: he went up to my couch,'

is explained as expressive of aversion and disgust; but Ball is undoubtedly right when he remarks that, 'as a sort of *sotto voce* addressed to the audience, [it] is almost comic,' and that parallelism demands a phrase corresponding to 'thy father's bed'. The easiest and most natural emendation of יְצוּעֵי עָלָה is that of Geiger (*Urschrift*) יְצוּעֵי בִלְהָה,

'Then didst thou defile the couch of Bilhah.'

Jacob's handmaid-wife Bilhah which brought down the patriarch's curse upon his firstborn son—a figure which, if correctly divested of its symbolism and interpreted of inter-tribal relations, seems to picture some sort of aggression upon the rights of the Bilhah-clan. As we have seen, the two sections into which this clan was ultimately split, Dan and Naphtali, appear originally to have occupied a position together on the edge of the Hill-country east of Jerusalem (north and south respectively of the Wâdy Ṣarâr, the ancient vale of Sorek). Now the description given by the P document in Joshua of the boundary-line between Benjamin and Judah mentions, as one of the defining points, the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben [1] (Joshua xv. 6, xviii. 17), on the eastern section of the line where it rises from the Jordan valley to the Hill-country; and the name seems to imply a tradition that the tribe of Reuben once occupied the district—a position from which it would have been easy to encroach upon the territory of the Bilhah-tribes to the west. Reuben's subsequent tribal misfortunes are traced to this incident in Gen. xlix. 4; but whether actually *propter hoc* or merely *post hoc* we have no means of determining, as we do not know why or when the tribe sought a new home east of Jordan.[2] The eventual insignificance of Reuben was probably due to the fact that the territory in which it settled was a perpetual bone of contention between Israel and Moab.

As to the early history of the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun there is even less to be said. Zebulun is in northern Canaan in Judges i. 30; but it is possibly significant that, in the short notices of the 'minor' Judges, Tola, who is a man of Issachar, dwells in Shamir in the Hill-country of Ephraim [3] (Judges x. 1, 2); while

[1] As Steuernagel remarks (*Einwanderung*, pp. 15 f.), the name may originally have been, not אֶבֶן בֹּהַן, but אֶבֶן בֹּהֶן 'thumb-stone', owing to the resemblance of the stone to a thumb. Later on the stone was thought to resemble a human figure, and Bohan was taken as the name of a son of Reuben who had been punished by being turned to stone (cf. Gen. xix. 26). Possibly Bohan was pictured as the son of Reuben and Bilhah, and the punishment was thought to have resulted from the parents' sin (cf. 2 Sam. xii. 15).

[2] We cannot be sure whether Reuben was west or east of Jordan during the period of the Judges. The Song of Deborah, after alluding to Reuben's failure to respond to the call to arms, goes on to state that 'Gilead (i. e. Gad) abode beyond Jordan'; and while the mention of the two tribes one after the other may imply contiguity east of Jordan, we might expect that the words 'abode beyond Jordan' would have been applied to the first east-Jordan tribe which is mentioned, rather than to the second.

[3] The term הר אפרים 'Mount Ephraim' seems to have included the whole of the central part of the western mountain-range as far north as the plain of

Elon the Zebulonite is buried in Aijalon[1] (Judges xii. 11, 12). This Aijalon is said to have lain 'in the land of Zebulun'; but the only Aijalon with which we are otherwise acquainted (the modern Yâlô) lies in the vale of the same name into which the Beth-horon road opens out. The notices of the 'minor' Judges are late additions to the Book of Judges, and picture clans as individuals in the style of the post-exilic Priestly school; but it is not unlikely that the information which they embody may be derived from an early source, and if so, there is some plausibility in Prof. Steuernagel's suggestion that we have here traces of the earliest positions occupied by these two tribes.[2]

If this assumption as to the early positions of Issachar and Zebulun be correct, we find five of the six Leah-tribes grouped together in early times in the central Hill-country, viz. Simeon and Levi in the Shechem-district, Issachar in a position which we are unable accurately to define, Zebulun in the south-west, and Reuben in the south-east. This may represent the distribution of these tribes in Canaan at a period possibly long prior to the entry of the Joseph-tribes under Joshua. The remaining Leah-tribe is Judah, concerning which the only evidence which we have so far deduced is that north Arabian clans subsequently included in it worked their way northward from the district south of the Negeb. The curious legend of Gen. xxxviii J pictures Judah, however, as entering into relations with Canaanite clans in the neighbourhood of Adullam, probably west-south-west of Bethlehem; and if this is a reflection of the earliest doings of the tribe, it may refer to the original Judah-nucleus, prior to its reinforcement by the north Arabian clans to which its name was subsequently extended. As Dr. Skinner has pointed out,[3] the legend seems to belong to a stratum of tradition which ignored the Exodus, and traced the occupation of Canaan back to Jacob and his immediate descendants.

Before leaving Issachar and Zebulun, we may notice that, when they reached their northern home, their tribal boundaries (if we are justified in speaking of 'boundaries') seem to have been somewhat

Esdraelon (i. e. the territory of Benjamin and Manasseh, as well as that of Ephraim proper): cf. Hogg in *Encyc. Bibl.* 1311.

[1] It is of course possible that the distinction between the name of the Judge אַיָּלוֹן, and that of his burial-place אַיָּלֹן, which is one of vowel-points only, may be merely artificial. Elon is really a clan—and not a personal—name, and may very possibly have been borne by the village or district in which the clan resided. Cf. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T.*, p. 184.

[2] *Einwanderung*, pp. 12 ff.

[3] Cf. *Genesis* (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), pp. 419 f.

different from those which are indicated in the Priestly document in the Book of Joshua. 'The Blessing of Moses' pictures them together as touching the Mediterranean, doubtless in the neighbourhood of Accho and Carmel (Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19):

'Rejoice, Zebulun, in thine outgoing,
And Issachar in thy settlement:[1]
They call the peoples to the mountain;
There they sacrifice sacrifices of righteousness:
For they suck the abundance of the seas,
And the hidden treasures of the sands.'

Here 'the mountain' is probably Carmel, which seems to have been the scene of an ancient festival, which 'the peoples' (other tribes) were accustomed to frequent. 'The hidden treasures of the sand' refers to the manufacture of glass from the sand about Accho.[2]

Similarly, 'the Blessing of Jacob' pictures Zebulun as dwelling by the sea (Gen. xlix. 13):

'Zebulun shall dwell by the shore of the sea,
And shall abide (?) in ships;[3]
And his flank shall be on Zidon.'

According to Joshua xix, however, both tribes are entirely inland, and it is Asher that occupies the seaboard as far south as Carmel.

It seems likely that the tradition of a conflict between Israel and a league of northern Canaanites under Jabin, king of Hazor, which, as we saw in the first lecture,[4] has been magnified by R^D in Joshua xi. 1 ff. into an attack by the whole of the Canaanites of the north upon the whole of Israel under the leadership of Joshua, really refers to a coalition of much less magnitude against two Israelite tribes only, the Leah-tribe Zebulun and the Bilhah-tribe Naphtali. Comparison of the prose and poetical accounts of the victory of Deborah and Barak in Judges iv and v makes it clear that 'Jabin, king of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor' is an intruder

[1] בְּאָהָלֶיךָ, usually rendered 'in thy tents', in accordance with the ordinary usage of אֹהֶל in Hebrew. The term is, however, the philological equivalent of Arabic أَهْل 'community of settlers', Babylonian *âlu*, 'city', originally 'settlement'; and we have in the present passage a survival of this wider and more primitive usage. Cf. also Deut. xvi. 7, Joshua xxii. 4, 6, 7, 8, Judges vii. 8, xix. 9, xx. 8, 1 Sam. xiii. 2, xx. 1, 22, 1 Kings viii. 66, xii. 16.

[2] Cf. Driver, *Deuteronomy* (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), pp. 409 f.

[3] The Hebrew text reads 'And be at the shore of ships'; but this can hardly be original. We desiderate a verb, and have followed Ball in emending יָגוּר. Cf. Judges v. 17.

[4] Cf. pp. 14 f.

into the former. As the prose narrative stands, it is involved in serious difficulties, whether examined in relation to the Song or independently of it. Assuming, however, that Jabin, king of Hazor, (who has no place in the Song) is the king who figures in Joshua xi. 1 ff., and that we have in Judges iv a duplicate of Joshua xi. 1 ff. wrongly interwoven with the story of Deborah and Barak, then the difficulty of combining the prose and poetical accounts vanishes for the most part, and the Song (a contemporary composition) gives remarkable confirmation to the general accuracy of the prose narrative.[1] Among the discrepancies between the prose and poetical accounts which call for explanation is the fact that, while the Song speaks of an attempted muster of ten Israelite tribes, six of which responded and did valiantly, the prose account speaks of Zebulun and Naphtali only (*vv.* 6, 10). It may well be that the reference to these two tribes really belongs to the Jabin-narrative; and considering the fact that the old narrative in Joshua xi. 1 mentions only Jabin, king of Hazor, and the kings of Madon, Shimron, and Achshaph, while the indefinite expansion of the league in *vv.* 2, 3 is editorial, it is likely that the truth is to be found in the supposition of a battle between these four Canaanite kings and the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali only. This collision may well have occurred when the two Israelite tribes left their home in the central Hill-country and migrated northward.

Finally, we must consider very briefly the implication which is involved in the picturing of four Israelite tribes as sons of handmaids and not full wives of Jacob. It is highly probable that these tribes were originally regarded as not fully Israelite, i. e. as partially (or, it may be, wholly) of alien extraction, and that it was only by degrees that they won their full place in the circle of the tribes. Let us take the case of Dan. The section of 'the Blessing of Jacob' which refers to this tribe begins with the couplet (Gen. xlix. 16),

> 'Dan shall judge his people
> As one of the tribes of Israel.'

This can scarcely be explained to mean simply that he shall maintain his independence as successfully as any other tribe. It undoubtedly implies that he will vindicate his claim to be reckoned as an Israelite tribe, i. e. will raise himself out of a position in which he was looked down upon as outside the full blood-brotherhood.

As we shall see in the next lecture, there exists external evidence which seems to prove that the Zilpah-tribe, Asher, was already

[1] Cf. Burney, *Judges*, pp. 78 ff.

settled in its final position in north-western Galilee at a period prior to the Exodus;[1] and it can hardly be doubted that all four tribes had occupied the land without a break for some time prior to that event. Whether the other Zilpah-tribe, Gad, was ever west of Jordan we cannot say. The terms of 'the Blessing of Jacob' (Gen. xlix. 19),

'Gad, raiders shall raid him;
And he shall raid their rear,'

is entirely suitable to the position occupied by the tribe in Gilead in close proximity to Aramaean rovers to the north-east.

There is a difference in the character of the tribal names of these handmaid-tribes as compared with the names of the full Israelite tribes (so far as we can explain them) which may possibly be significant of diversity of origin.

The three names of handmaid-tribes which can be explained are the names or titles of deities, two of whom at any rate seem to have been astral in character.[2] Gad is the god of fortune, whose worship among the renegade Israelites of post-exilic times is mentioned in Isa. lxv. 11, and who, as inscriptions prove, was venerated among the Aramaeans and Phoenicians.[3] Baal-Gad in the Lebanon-district (cf. Joshua xi. 17, xii. 7, xiii. 3) was probably an important centre of his worship. Similarly, Asher seems to have been the masculine counterpart of the goddess Ashera, who, in her Arabian form Aṯirat, appears as consort of the Moon-god. It is probable that the curious expression בְּאָשְׁרִי, which is put into the mouth of Leah as an explanation of the name of this tribe (Gen. xxx. 13 J), and is with difficulty interpreted 'In my good luck', i. e. 'I am in luck', is an intentional alteration of an original בְּאָשֵׁר 'With (the help of) Asher';[4] just as the similar expression בְּגָד (Gen. xxx. 11 J)

[1] Cf. pp. 82, 83.

[2] This may also have been the case with Gad as the god of fortune. Cf. (according to the restoration of de Vogüé) the dedication למזל נעם, answering to the Greek Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ in a Phoenician inscription from Larnaka of about the fourth century B. C. (*Corpus Inscrip. Semit.* i. 95). The term מַזָּל is used of the planets, regarded as stars of good or ill fortune (*Bereshith rabba*, 10, 10 c., &c.).

[3] Cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 76 ff.

[4] Ball, *SBOT.* ad loc., proposes בַּאֲשֵׁרָה 'with (the help of) Ashera'. There is weighty evidence which points to the primitive connexion of Yahweh with the Moon-god (cf. *Additional Note* in Burney, *Judges*, pp. 249 ff.); and since it can now be shown conclusively that Yahweh or Yahu was originally an Amorite deity (cf. *Additional Note* in Burney, *Judges*, pp. 243 ff.), it seems to follow that

seems to mean 'With (the help of) Gad', and has likewise been modified in the vocalized text (the *K^ere^*) into בָּא גָּד 'Good fortune has come'. In both cases the modifications are probably due to the desire to remove expressions offensive to the strict monotheism of a later age. The name *Dân* means 'Judge'; and, in view of the facts which we have noticed with regard to the names Gad and Asher, it is likely that this name referred originally to a *divine Judge* who was patron of the tribe. The god of the Babylonian pantheon who was pictured as *the* Judge *par excellence* was Šamaš the Sun-god, whose common title among the Babylonians and Assyrians was *Dân* (or *Daian*) *šamê u irṣiti*, 'Judge of heaven and earth.' Evidence for the worship of the Sun-god in the district originally occupied by Dan is to be seen in the place-name Beth-shemesh, 'Temple of the Sun.' The name Šamšon, whatever be its precise explanation, seems to have been in origin honorific of the Sun-god.[1] Very likely it is a hypocoristic from a full form Šamši-el, 'Šamaš is god.' In the legends of Samson's exploits there are undoubted traces of an ancient solar myth, such as can

the deity must have been known and worshipped in Canaan prior to the coming of Israel, though not under the high ethical conception with which He was invested through the Theophany made to Moses at Sinai. Israel's subsequent religious history may then be pictured, not as a struggle of Yahweh-worship with the worship of a different deity or deities (the Canaanite Baals), but as a struggle between the high ethical conception of Yahweh introduced by Moses, and the lower and more naturalistic conception of the same deity already prevalent in Canaan (cf. Burney in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1908, pp. 321 ff.). If, then, Yahweh was pictured in Canaan as the Moon-god, and Ashera is the Arabian Atirat who is known to have been the consort of this deity, the view is plausible that the goddess was regarded in Canaan as the consort of Yahweh. This explains the setting up of her image or symbol beside the altar of Yahweh, and also the keen antagonism with which such a proceeding was regarded by the prophets as the exponents of the purer (Mosaic) form of Yahweh-worship. If, again, Ashera was the name of the female counterpart of the Moon-god, it is likely that the masculine form Asher denoted, in Canaan, the Moon-god himself, i. e. the Canaanite Yahweh. Hommel (*Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, ii, p. 209) is inclined to think that traces may be found in the old Testament of Asher as a surname of Yahweh in several old poetical passages, especially in Deut. xxxiii. 29, which he renders,

> [Yahweh] is the shield of thine help,
> And Asher the sword of thine excellency.

Such an explanation certainly relieves the difficulty of וַאֲשֶׁר חֶרֶב גַּאֲוָתֶךָ, where אֲשֶׁר, as vocalized in M. T., is taken for the relative pronoun; R.V. 'And that is the sword, &c.'—a very awkward and unpoetical construction. Cf. further, note on 'the Ashera' in Burney, *Judges*, pp. 195 ff.

[1] Cf. Burney, *Judges*, p. 352.

be proved from the Epic of Gilgameš to have existed among the Semites.[1]

In the names of the purely Israelite tribes, on the other hand, divine names of this class seem to be non-existent; but there are a number of names which are susceptible of explanation as *animal*-names, and which perhaps (as among the Arabs[2]) point back to a primitive totemistic stage. Thus Le'ah, and perhaps Levi, seem to mean 'wild-cow' or 'bovine antelope';[3] Rachel is the 'ewe'; Šime'on very possibly the 'hyena-wolf hybrid',[4] and Re'uben more doubtfully the 'lion'.[5] The Kenizzite clan Caleb incorporated in Judah is the 'dog'-clan. Tola' and Pu'ah, two 'sons', i.e. *clans* of Issachar (cf. Gen. xlvi. 13; Num. xxvi. 23 P), mean respectively the cochineal insect,[6] from which a red dye is extracted, and a plant which is a species of madder (*Rubia tinctorum*),[7] the root of which is likewise used to produce a dye of similar colour. I have no theory to account for the fact that the two groups of tribes bear names of such different classes—the one group astral and the other perhaps totemistic. Possibly it may be accidental that they so divide themselves; but the fact is at any rate worthy of notice.

The reason why Bilhah is represented as the handmaid of Rachel, while Zilpah is the handmaid of Leah, seems obviously to be that, at the stage at which the legend originated, the Bilhah-tribes, Dan and Naphtali, dwelt in contiguity to the Joseph-tribes upon their

[1] Cf. *Additional Note* in Burney, *Judges*, pp. 391 ff.

[2] Cf. Robertson Smith, 'Animal worship and animal tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament', *Journal of Philology*, ix (1880), pp. 75 ff.; reprinted in *Lectures and Essays*, pp. 455 ff.

[3] Arabic *la'y*. Cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl, p. 16; Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, ed. 2, pp. 227, 255; Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 80; Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 96; Ed. Meyer, *Israeliten*, p. 426, note 3.

[4] Arabic *sim'*. The identification of Šime'on with *sim'* goes back (according to Hogg, *Encyc. Bibl.* 4531) to Hitzig, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 45, and is adopted by Robertson Smith, *Journal of Philology*, 1880, p. 80; and others.

[5] Arabic *ri'bâl*, 'lion' (or 'wolf'), makes plural *ra'âbîl*, which in a shortened form *ra'âbil* would give Hebrew רְאוּבֵל: cf. the form of the name Ῥουβήλος in Josephus, *Antiquities*, i. 19. 7; Peshiṭtâ ܪܘܐܒܝܠ. So Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*, ed. 2, p. 367.

[6] Hebrew תּוֹלָע, which means 'worm' in Exod. xvi. 20 (more commonly fem. תּוֹלַעַת; cf. Babylonian *tultu*), is used in Isa. i. 18, Lam. iv. 5 to denote the crimson dye prepared from the insect.

[7] Arabic *fuwwah*. The Hebrew form פֻּוָּה Puwwah is given in Gen. xlvi. 13, Num. xxvi. 23. Eusebius explains Puah as *ἐρυθρά*: cf. *Onomastica Sacra*, 200, l. 98.

south-west, whereas the Zilpah-tribes, Asher and Gad, were among the Leah-tribes, the one in the north, the other east of Jordan.

Having reached this point in our discussion, we are in a position to pass on to the external evidence afforded by archaeology, in order that we may seek for light from that source upon the early movements of the tribes of Israel.

LECTURE III

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE AND CONCLUSIONS

In attempting a survey of external evidence offered by archaeological discovery which may possibly throw light upon the early movements of the Israelites and their ancestors, a natural starting-point to select is the Hyksos-domination of Egypt. Current theories as to the migration of Israel's ancestors from Canaan to Egypt take us back to this period; and it is from this period that we have the earliest occurrence of a name which may possibly be brought into connexion with the Biblical tradition.

Concerning the Hyksos our information from Egyptian sources is unfortunately very scanty. We know that they were foreign invaders who poured into Egypt from the north-east, subjugated the country for the most part, and established themselves there for a considerable period. The conclusion that they were Asiatic Semites seems now to be established. Whether the Egyptian annalist Manetho, upon whom we are still dependent for the main part of our information concerning this people, is right in explaining their title as meaning 'shepherd-kings'[1] (from Egyptian *Hyk* = 'king', and '*sos*' = 'shepherd', or rather 'nomad freebooter') is a disputed question;[2] but at any rate some of the names of Hyksos chieftains which have come down to us from contemporary Egyptian sources are indisputably Semitic in character. Ḫyan, the most important Hyksos king known to us, bears a good Semitic name;[3]

[1] Cf. Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, i. 14.

[2] On this interpretation *sos* is probably the Egyptian *šasu*, a term applied to the Asiatic Bedawin. Breasted (*History of Egypt*, p. 217) objects to this explanation, and suggests that the real meaning of Hyksos is 'ruler of countries'—a title which Ḫyan, one of the Hyksos kings, often gives himself on his monuments. Cf. also Griffith in *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, xix (1897), pp. 296 f.; W. M. Müller in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1898, 3, pp. 4 ff.

[3] The name is borne by an Aramaean king of Ya'di in northern Syria in the ninth century B.C., and is written Ḫa-ia-ni in the annals of Shalmaneser III (cf. *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, p. 170), and חיא in the inscription of Kalumu, the succeeding king of Ya'di (cf., for inscription, references given in Burney, *Judges*, p. 174).

and among other names of autonomous chieftains there occur one which seems to represent the Semitic 'Anath-el, and another (most interesting to us in view of our present inquiry) which may be read as Jacob-el.[1] When eventually driven out of Egypt by Aḥmosi I, we find the Hyksos making a stand in Sharuḥen (i. e. no doubt the city of that name mentioned in Joshua xix. 6 as assigned to Simeon in southern Judah), where they are besieged by Aḥmosi for three years, and finally defeated by him in northern Syria;[2] and we have, therefore good ground for the assumption that they were, in origin, the more or less civilized people of Amurru (to use the term applied by the Babylonians to the region stretching westward from the Euphrates, and including the whole Syrian littoral), and that their line of retreat lay, as was natural, into the land occupied by their kindred. The cause which originally led to the invasion of Egypt by these Semitic inhabitants of Amurru lies outside the scope of our present inquiry. We may, however, briefly observe that (as suggested by Mr. H. R. Hall) the almost contemporary incursion into Western Asia of the Kaššites from Irân and the Hittites from Asia Minor 'must have caused at first a considerable displacement of the Semitic population, which was pressed south-westwards into southern Syria and Palestine', and it may well have been as a result of this pressure that the Semites 'burst the ancient barrier of Egypt', and invaded it in full flood.[3]

The length of the period covered by the Hyksos invasion and domination of Egypt is most uncertain. Prof. Petrie accepts and defends Manetho's statement that 511 years elapsed from their first invasion to their ultimate expulsion; but Prof. Ed. Meyer and his followers allow conjecturally no more than one hundred years.[4] Mr. Hall seems to have good sense on his side in arguing for a figure between these two extremes—perhaps about two hundred years.[5] The accession of Aḥmosi I, who expelled them from Egypt, is dated *c.* 1580 B. C.[6]

[1] Cf. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 68 f.; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 217; Spiegelberg in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, vii (1904), col. 131.

[2] Cf. the autobiographies of the two Egyptian officers named Aḥmosi who took part in this war: Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, ii, §§ 1 ff.

[3] Cf. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 212; Luckenbill in *American Journal of Theology*, xviii (1914), p. 32.

[4] Cf. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, ed. 2, I. ii, p. 293; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 221.

[5] Cf. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 23 ff., 216 f., 218.

[6] The accession-dates given for Egyptian kings are those of Breasted.

Invasion of Palestine and Syria, thus begun by Aḥmosi I, the founder of the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, was carried farther by subsequent kings. Ṭḥutmosi I (*c.* 1539 B.C.) advanced victoriously through Syria as far as Naharîn, i.e. the district included in the river-systems of the Orontes and the upper Euphrates, and set up a boundary-tablet on the bank of the Euphrates to mark the northern limit of his kingdom.[1] Ṭḥutmosi III (*c.* 1501 B.C.) did more than any other Egyptian monarch to win and consolidate an empire in Western Asia in a series of seventeen campaigns lasting from *c.* 1479 to 1459 B.C.[2] The first of these was signalized by a victory at Megiddo over a big coalition of 'the people of Upper Retenu' (i.e. southern Syria, including Palestine). A list on the walls of the temple of Amon at Karnak of 'the people of Upper Retenu whom his Majesty shut up in wretched Megiddo' contains 119 place-names, and is of great geographical interest.[3] Among the names is one which is read as Jacob-el, and another, much more doubtfully, as Joseph-el.[4]

Succeeding campaigns enabled Ṭḥutmosi gradually to extend his power farther north, and it was in the eighth of these that he reached the climax of his successes. Advancing into Naharîn, he met and defeated 'that foe of wretched Naharîn', i.e., probably, the king of Mitanni, a considerable state which, though ultimately confined, through Ṭḥutmosi's victories, to the region beyond the upper Euphrates, seems at this time to have extended south-west of the Euphrates, and to have included Naharîn. In the same campaign Ṭḥutmosi captured Carchemish, and crossing the Euphrates, set up his boundary-tablet upon its eastern bank, beside that of Ṭḥutmosi I. 'Ḫeta the Great', i.e. the Hittites of Cappadocia, now sent him presents; and it is even possible that he may have received presents from Babylon.[5] Ṭḥutmosi's remaining

[1] Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, ii, §§ 79, 81, 85.

[2] Ibid., ii, §§ 391 ff.

[3] Cf. W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 157 ff.; *Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis III* (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1907, 1). Petrie, *History of Egypt*, ii, pp. 320 ff., attempts to find a systematic arrangement in the list, and offers identifications, many of which must be deemed highly precarious.

[4] Egyptian *Y-'-ḳ-b-'â-ra* and *Y-š-p-'â-ra* (Nos. 102 and 78). The latter equivalence is very doubtful, since the sibilant does not correspond with that of יוֹסֵף.

[5] It is a disputed question whether we should find allusion to 'tribute of the chief of Shin'ar' (Heb. שִׁנְעָר a name of Babylonia), or whether the reference is to the modern Ǵebel Singar, north-west of Nineveh. Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, ii, § 484 (foot-note); Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 212.

campaigns in Syria were occupied in quelling revolts and generally consolidating the broad territory which he had won.

It is from the reign of Ṭhutmosi III and onwards that we find occasional reference in Egyptian documents to a people called *'Apuriu* or *'Apriu*. The name is preceded by the Determinative which denotes foreigners. The allusion which falls in the reign of Ṭhutmosi III comes from a tale which is said not to be a contemporary document. It relates how, when Joppa was captured by a ruse by Ṭhuty, a general of Ṭhutmosi, Ṭhuty sent a message to his troops outside by one of the *'Apuriu*. Other allusions, which belong to the reigns of Ra'messe II (*c.* 1292–25), Ra'messe III (*c.* 1198–67), and Ra'messe IV (*c.* 1167–61), picture the *'Apuriu* in Egypt, performing (like the Hebrews of Exod. i. 11 ff.) heavy manual labour in connexion with the building operations of the Pharaohs, especially the quarrying and transportation of stone. The theory that the *'Apuriu* are the Hebrews (Heb. *'ibhrîm*) was long ago advanced,[1] but met with little success, the main consensus of Egyptological opinion being opposed to it. Lately it has been revived, and supported by arguments of some weight;[2] and if the philological difficulty of equating the two names (the representation of Hebrew *b* by Egyptian *p*) be not insuperable, it seems possible that the names may coincide.[3] Since, however, the latest reference to this people as employed in Egypt dates from the reign of Ra'messe IV—a period at which, on any plausible hypothesis, the Exodus must already have taken place, our inference (if we accept the identification) must be that some Hebrews (not necessarily *Israelites*) were still in Egypt after the Exodus. As is well known, the Israelites were a part only, and not the whole, of the Hebrew stock; and, assuming that the *'Apuriu* were the Hebrews, we can

[1] Cf. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, I. Ser., 1862, pp. 42–55; II. Ser., 1864, pp. 108–65; Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher Mose's*, 1868, p. 316; *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, ed. 2, 1881, pp. 505 f.

[2] Cf. especially Heyes, *Bibel und Ägypten*, 1904, pp. 146–58. The identification is regarded as plausible by Skinner (*Genesis* in *Intèrnat. Crit. Comm.*, pp. 218 ff.), Driver (*Exodus* in *Cambridge Bible*, pp. xli f., where a synopsis is given of all mentions in Egyptian inscriptions), and other Biblical scholars; though among modern Egyptologists Maspero (*Les Premières Mêlées des Peuples*, p. 443, n. 3; *Contes populaires*, p. 119, n. 3) and Breasted (*Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv, § 281, n. *e*) definitely reject it, while W. M. Müller (*Encyc. Bibl.* 1243) more guardedly refuses to decide either for or against it.

[3] That the interchange between Hebrew *b* and Egyptian *p*, though rare, does actually occur is proved by Heyes, op. cit., p. 148 (his best instance is Eg. *ḥurpu* = Heb. חֶרֶב 'sword'). Cf. also Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*, § 50.

only accept the identification in the widest sense borne by the name, and must not (on present evidence) narrow it down specifically to the Israelites. The value of the identification (if such it be) lies in its confirmation of the Biblical tradition that Hebrew clans migrated with ease into Egypt, and were employed there in heavy manual task-work.

Egypt's Asiatic empire was maintained unimpaired under Ṭḥutmosi III's successors, Amenḥotp II (*c.* 1448 B.C.) and Ṭḥutmosi IV (*c.* 1420 B.C.); though both these monarchs had to quell rebellions which broke out in northern Syria and Naharîn at, or shortly after, their accessions. The authority of Egypt was, however, effectively maintained by official representatives and garrisons in the larger towns; and the system of allowing the Syrian cities a large measure of autonomy under their petty chieftains proved, on the whole, to be justified. The marriage of Ṭḥutmosi IV with the daughter of Artatama, king of Mitanni, was a judicious measure which gained for Egypt an ally upon the north-eastern limit of her Asiatic kingdom; and it was probably owing to this that Amenḥotp III, the son of Ṭḥutmosi by his Mitannian queen, succeeded to the empire without having to meet any insurrection on the part of the turbulent elements in Naharîn.

For the reigns of Amenḥotp III (*c.* 1411 B. C.) and his successor Amenḥotp IV (*c.* 1375 B.C.) we possess the evidence of the correspondence discovered at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt in 1887,[1] which is of unique importance for the history of Syria and the surrounding countries of Western Asia in their relation with Egypt and with one another. At this period (as the Amarna letters first proved to us) the language of diplomacy and commerce in Western Asia was Babylonian, and correspondence was carried on in the cuneiform script, written upon clay tablets. Many of these letters are addressed to the king of Egypt by the independent rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms of Western Asia—Babylonia or Karduniaš (to give the kingdom its Kaššite name), Assyria, Mitanni, &c.—who were naturally concerned to preserve good diplomatic relations

[1] The most recent edition of the Amarna letters is that by J. A. Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln* (1908-15), which takes the place of H. Winckler's edition (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, v, 1896) as the standard edition for scholars. The cuneiform text of the Berlin collection of tablets has been published by Abel and Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von el-Amarna* (1889), and that of the British Museum collection by Bezold in Budge and Bezold, *Tel el-Amarna Tablets in the Brit. Mus.* (1892). All the original tablets were exhaustively collated by Knudtzon for his transliteration and translation of the texts. Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* (1909), is important for philology.

with Egypt. These, though of first importance for the history of the times, do not here concern us, except incidentally. It is the correspondence of the subject-kinglets which brings most vividly before us the condition of Syria and Canaan at the time, and the causes which were leading to the gradual weakening of Egypt's hold upon her Asiatic possessions.

In the reign of Amenḥotp III the Egyptian Empire was at its zenith, and the luxury and magnificence of the kingdom had never been surpassed. This, however, was due to the continuous efforts of the Pharaoh's warlike ancestors: he seems himself to have been content to enjoy the fruits of past achievement, and not to have been greatly concerned with the maintenance of the tradition of empire-building. Thus already in his reign we discover the beginning of movements which were destined ultimately to bring about the decline of Egypt's suzerainty over the coast-land of Western Asia.

It was under Amenḥotp IV, however, that the crisis became acute. This king is remarkable as the introducer into Egypt of a new form of religion, a kind of philosophic monotheism which centred in the worship of the solar disk (called in Egyptian, Aton). Repudiating the name Amenḥotp, he adopted the name Aḫnaton ('Spirit of Aton'); and having removed his capital from Thebes, where the power and influence of the old religion were naturally at their strongest, he founded a new capital, some 300 miles lower down the Nile and about 160 miles above the Delta, to which he gave the name Aḫetaton ('Horizon of Aton'). This is the modern Tell el-Amarna. Wholly absorbed in his religious speculations and in domestic life, the king cared little about the fate of his Asiatic provinces; and letters from the native princes and governors of Syria and Canaan speak again and again of the growing spirit of disaffection towards Egypt, or beg for assistance in the face of open revolt.

The trouble arose principally from the encroachment of the Hittites upon northern Syria. The Hittites were an Anatolian people, concerning whose earlier history we have but scant information. Probably they formed at first a collection of semi-independent tribes, loosely united by the bond of a common extraction. About the time of which we are speaking, however, there arose among them a powerful leader named Šubbiluliuma, son of a certain Ḫattušili who was king of a city named Kuššar, who succeeded in binding the Hittite clans into a strong confederation. Šubbiluliuma's reign, of probably some forty years (*c.* 1385–1345 B. C.), was

a long career of conquest resulting in the creation of an empire which lasted under one dynasty for nearly 200 years. His capital city, which was called Ḫatti, lay east and north of the river Halys in the district which was known in later ages as Cappadocia. The site of this city is marked by the modern village of Boghaz Keui; and here Prof. Winckler recently discovered the Hittite archives, containing an immense store of tablets written in cuneiform, some in the Babylonian, and others in the Hittite language. The Hittite language is for practical purposes as yet undeciphered, but the Babylonian tablets have added immensely to our knowledge of the Hittites and their foreign relations, even though at present we are dependent upon Winckler's preliminary account, containing translations of the more important inscriptions, which was published in the *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* in December, 1907.[1] Publication of full transcriptions of the documents has been long delayed; but two fasciculi containing many important inscriptions were brought out in Germany at the end of last year.[2]

In the latter years of Amenḥotp III we find Šubbiluliuma crossing the Taurus, and leading his forces to the attack of northern Syria. The safe retention of Naharîn as an Egyptian province depended, as we have noticed, largely upon the goodwill of the king of Mitanni; and the alliance which had been contracted through the marriage of Ṭḥutmosi IV with a Mitannian princess had been further cemented by the union of Amenḥotp III with Gilu-Ḫipa, sister of Tušratta, the reigning king of Mitanni, and subsequently with Tadu-Ḫipa, Tušratta's daughter, who, after the death of Amenḥotp III, became a wife of his successor Aḫnaton. Tušratta, however, had succeeded to a kingdom weakened by internal intrigues, his brother Artaššumara, who reigned before him, having been assassinated. He was strong enough to repel the Hittites from Mitanni for the time being, but could not prevent Šubbiluliuma from invading Naharîn, where the projects of the Hittite king were furthered by another brother of Tušratta, named (like his grandfather) Artatama. This prince, having very possibly been implicated in the murder of Artaššumara, had been obliged to fly from Mitanni to Naharîn, and, with his son Šutatarra, and grandson Itakama, of whom we hear later on as prince of Kinza or Kidša (i. e. the district of which the principal city was Kadesh on the

[1] Hereafter cited as *MDOG*.

[2] *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Autographien von H. H. Figulla und E. F. Weidner, Oktober 1916.

Orontes), welcomed the opportunity of intriguing with the Hittites against Tušratta. Farther south, Abd-Aširta was chieftain of Amurru, a name which in the usage of this period is restricted to the region immediately south of Naharîn, i.e. the Lebanon-district and the desert country to the east as far as the Euphrates,[1] embracing the important series of oases which mark the short route from Babylonia through Syria to Egypt. This Amorite prince perceived that his own interests would best be served by making common cause with the Hittites, and attacking the rulers of the Phoenician coast-cities, who were loyal to Egypt. For a time he and his son Aziru managed with amazing astuteness to pass themselves off as faithful vassals of Egypt, in spite of the urgent representations of Rib-Adda, the governor of Gebal, who displayed the utmost energy in the Egyptian cause. Amenḥotp III seems at length to have been convinced of the true state of affairs, and to have dispatched an army; and the tension was temporarily relieved.[2] Under Aḫnaton, however, no such help was forthcoming; and the Phoenician cities fell one after another into the hands of the Amorites.[3]

Meanwhile in the south affairs were little better; local dissensions were rife among the petty Canaanite princes, and we find them engaged in active intrigue against their suzerain, and at the same time sending letters to the Pharaoh full of protestations of loyalty and accusations against their neighbours. So far as we can judge, ARAD-Ḫiba, the governor of Jerusalem, stood faithfully for the interests of the Egyptian king; but he seems to have stood almost alone. His letters make urgent and repeated requests for the dispatch of Egyptian troops, and state that, unless they can speedily be sent, the whole country will be lost to Egypt. The part played by the Hittites and Amorites in the north is filled in the south by a people called Ḫabiru.[4]

The Ḫabiru are mentioned under this name in the letters of ARAD-Ḫiba[5] only. He states that they have plundered all the

[1] Cf. p. 76, n. 1.

[2] Cf. Knudtzon, no. 117, ll. 21 ff.

[3] For a detailed account of the movements of Šubbiluliuma and the north Syrian rebellion cf. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 341 ff.

[4] Most writers refer to this people as Ḥabiri; but, as Knudtzon points out (cf. p. 45 note), out of the seven (or eight) passages in which they are mentioned the form is *Ḫabiru* in the two cases in which the name stands as a Nominative, *Ḫabiri* (with the Genitive termination) being in all occurrences an oblique form. So Dhorme in *Revue Biblique*, 1909, p. 67, note 2.

[5] This name, which means 'Servant of (the goddess) Ḫiba', is probably

king's territory and occupied his cities; unless the king can send troops before the end of the year the whole of his territory will certainly fall away to them. Certain of the vassals, notably one Milkili and the sons of Labaya, are accused of conspiring with the Ḫabiru and allowing them to occupy the king's territory; and the district of Shechem[1] seems to be specified as having passed into their hands. The cities of Gezer, Ashkelon, and Lachish appear to have been implicated in assisting them.[2] Indeed, ARAD-Ḫiba states that he has been obliged to tax the king's own high-commissioner with playing into their hands, and that on this account he has been slandered to the king. In this last reference the question addressed by ARAD-Ḫiba to the commissioner, 'Wherefore lovest thou the Ḫabiru, and hatest the city-governors?'—sets them in contrast to the latter,[3] who represent the delegated authority of Egypt.

Hittite-Mitannian, since Ḫiba or Ḫipa is known to have been a Hittite-Mitannian goddess (cf. the names Gilu-Ḫipa, Tadu-Ḫipa borne by Mitannian princesses; Pudu-Ḫipa, wife of the Hittite king Ḫattušili II); and, if this is so, it follows that the Sumerian ideogram ARAD, 'servant', probably stands for the Hittite or Mitannian word for 'servant', which is unknown to us. The ordinarily accepted form Abdi-Ḫiba (reading the Hebrew or Canaanite עבדי for the ideogram 𒀀𒈾) is based upon the assumption that the man was a Semite, which is very improbable. Cf. Burney, *Judges*, Introd. p. lxxxvi.

[1] (*Mâtu*) *Ša-ak-mi*, according to Knudtzon's reading (no. 289, l. 23). Winckler (no. 185) fails to make sense of the passage.

[2] This is an inference only; though a fairly certain one. In the letter in question (Knudtzon, no. 287) there comes a break of about eight lines, after which ARAD-Ḫiba continues, 'Let the King know that all the states are leagued in hostility against me. Behold, the land of Gezer, the land of Ashkelon, and Lachish gave unto them food, oil, and everything that they needed; so let the King have a care for his territory, and dispatch bowmen against the men who have done evil against the King my lord.' Here it can scarcely be doubted that the object implied in 'gave unto them' is the Ḫabiru, who must have been mentioned in the missing passage. So Weber in Knudtzon, p. 1337.

[3] The term *ḫazan(n)u*, *ḫazianu*, plur. *ḫazanûtu*, is doubtless the same as New Heb. חַזָּן which means 'inspector' or 'overseer'. Cf. the reference to Jacob as a 'city-overseer' (חזן מותא) under Laban, quoted by Buxtorf, *Lexicon*, *s.v.*, from *Baba meṣia*. The ordinary New Heb. usage of חזן to denote a synagogue-overseer or minister is technical and secondary. Besides the title *ḫazanu*, the ordinary title by which the Syrian vassal-chieftains describe themselves to the Egyptian king, and are described by him (cf. Knudtzon, no. 99), is *amêlu*, 'man' of such and such a city. To outsiders they are *šarrâni*, 'kings' (cf. Knudtzon, no. 30), a title which is familiar to us as applied to them in the Old Testament, and which was doubtless always claimed by them when independent of the suzerainty of Egypt.

The question of the identity of the Ḫabiru has aroused greater interest and keener discussion than any other point raised by the Amarna Letters. Were they, as has often been alleged, identical with the *Hebrews*, i. e. with the clans which are pictured in Genesis as the descendants of Abraham the Hebrew, who may well have been pressing into Canaan at about this period? Were they even (as has been more boldly suggested) the tribes of Israel engaged under Joshua in the invasion and conquest of the Promised Land? The acceptance of this latter view involves (as we shall presently see) the abandonment of the commonly received conclusion as to the date of the Exodus, and the placing of this event at least two hundred years earlier.

The philological equivalence of (*amêlûtu*) *Ḫa-bi-ru*[1] with עִבְרִי *'ibhrî*, 'Hebrew'—or rather, since the form is not a gentilic, with עֵבֶר *'Ēbher*, LXX *Ἔβερ* (Gen. x. 21, xi. 14, &c.)—is perfect. About this there can be no doubt at all. As is well known, Hebrew ע *'Ayin* corresponds to the two Arabic sounds ع *'Ain* and غ *Ġain*; and the evidence of LXX transliterations of Hebrew names indicates that, when Hebrew was a spoken language, two sounds of ע, a softer and a rougher, were distinguished as in Arabic. Thus ע = ع is represented in LXX by a light breathing[2] (e. g. עֵלִי = *Ἡλί*, עֲזַרְיָה = *Ἀζαριά*), whereas ע = غ appears as a *Γ* (e. g. עַזָּה = *Γαζά*, עֲמֹרָה = *Γόμορρα*, צֹעַר = *Σήγωρ*, *Ζόγορ*). Since עֵבֶר appears in LXX as *Ἔβερ*, and עִבְרִי as *Ἑβραῖος*, we infer that the initial ע is of the softer kind. Instances of soft ע represented by Ḫ in the Amarna Letters are frequent. The following may be noted:

Canaanite 'glosses' (i. e. Canaanite words inserted in the Letters in explanation of Babylonian words):

ḫi-na-ia = עֵינַי (Arabic عين), gloss on *îni-ia* (written iiIGI-*ia*): Knudtzon, no. 144, l. 17.

ḫa-pa-ru[3] = עָפָר (Arabic root عفر), gloss on *ipra* (written SAĠAR-*ra*): Knudtzon, no. 143, l. 11.

ḫa-zi-ri = עָצִיר (probably passive participial form for עָצַר. Arabic root عصر), gloss on *i-ku-al*: Knudtzon, no. 138, l. 130.

zu-ru-uḫ = זָרוֹעַ (Arabic ذراع), gloss on *ḳât* (written ŠU): Knudtzon, no. 286, l. 34; no. 287, l. 27. The same form is also used

[1] *Amêlûtu*, 'men', or sing. *amêlu*, 'man', are used as Determinatives before the names of tribes or classes.

[2] It would be more accurate to say that it was unrepresented in writing, the breathings being absent in the earliest MSS.

[3] We also find the gloss *a-pa-ru*: Knudtzon, no. 141, l. 4.

twice *in place of* the Babylonian term: Knudtzon, no. 286, l. 12; no. 288, l. 14.

Similarly,

ba-aḫ-lum = בַּעַל (LXX *βάα*λ, Arabic بعل) in the proper names *Pu-ba-aḫ-la*, *Mu-ut-ba-aḫ-lum*: Knudtzon, no. 104, l. 7; no. 255, l. 3.

Ḫa-mu = עַמּוּ (Arabic عمّ) in the proper name *Ḫa-mu-ni-ri*[1] (cf. the same element in *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi*): Knudtzon, no. 137, ll. 15, 66, 69, 88; no. 138, ll. 52, 132.

Place-names:

(*mâtu*) *Ki-na-aḫ-ḫi* (variants *Ki-na-a-aḫ-ḫi*, *Ki-na-ḫi*, *Ki-na-aḫ-na*, *Ki-na-aḫ-ni*) = כְּנַעַן (LXX *Χανάαν*): frequent.

(*âlu*) *Ṣa-ar-ḫa* = צָרְעָה (LXX *Σαραά*, modern Arabic صرعة): Knudtzon, no. 273, l. 21.

(*âlu*) *Ḫi-ni-a-na-bi* = עֵין עֲנָב: Knudtzon, no. 225, l. 4.

(*âlu*) *Ta-aḫ-*[*nu-ka*] = תַּעְנָךְ (LXX *Θαανάχ*, modern Arabic تعنك): Knudtzon, no. 208, l. 14.

Were it necessary to go outside the Amarna letters, this list might easily be increased by the addition of Amorite proper names in Babylonian First dynasty tablets, e. g. *A-bi-e-šu-uḫ* (by the side of *A-bi-e-šu-'*) = אֲבִישׁוּעַ (South Arabian אביהע); *Ya-di-iḫ-el* = יְדִיעֲאֵל; *Ya-aš-ma-ah-*^{ilu} *Da-gan* = יִשְׁמַעְדָּגָן; &c.

The vocalization of *Ḫa-bi-ru* is also agreeable to an equivalence with עֵבֶר. Père Dhorme's statement[2] that *Ḫabiru* is a participial form is unwarranted (we never find it written *Ḫa-a-bi-ru*, i. e. *Ḫâbiru*). *Ḫabiru* is not a gentilic form like Hebrew sing. עִבְרִי, plur. עִבְרִים (the Babylonian gentilic form would be *Ḫabirâ*: cf. p. 77), but a substantive form like עֵבֶר (the eponym of עִבְרִי) with the nominative case-ending. The short *i* vowel in *Ḫabiru* might very well vary: cf. *Armu*, *Aramu*, *Arimu*, *Arumu* = Hebrew אֲרַם. A good analogy for *Ḫabiru* = עֵבֶר may be seen in *Bît-Adini* = בֵּית־עֵדֶן.[3]

Discussion of the identity of the Ḫabiru with the Hebrews is closely bound up with another question of identification. As we have observed, the (*amêlûtu*) *Ḫa-bi-ru* (or *-ri*) are only mentioned in this form (i. e. their name only occurs spelt out syllabically) in the letters of ARAD-Ḫiba. Many other letters, however, mention a people whose name is written ideographically (*amêlûtu*) SA-GAZ, who

[1] Also written *Am-mu-ni-ra*: Knudtzon, no. 136, l. 29; no. 141, l. 3; no. 143, l. 3.

[2] *Revue Biblique*, 1909, p. 72.

[3] Probably עֵדֶן should be עֵדֶן, but is differentiated by M. T. from the עֵדֶן of Gen. ii: cf. W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 291, note 4.

occupy a position as freebooters and aggressors against constituted authority identical with that occupied by the Ḫabiru. The question is whether SA-GAZ is merely the ideographic method of writing *Ḫabiru*, and the reading *Ḫabiru* to be assumed wherever the ideogram occurs. The importance of this is to be found in the widespread character of the aggressions of the SA-GAZ. If the Ḫabiru are identical with them, they must have permeated not merely southern and central Canaan, but also Phoenicia and northern Syria; for the SA-GAZ are mentioned, e.g., with especial frequency in the letters of Rib-Adda, governor of Gebal, as employed by Abd-Aširta and Aziru in the reduction of the Phoenician cities.[1] The view that SA-GAZ is to be read as *Ḫabiru*, which has always been regarded with favour by the majority of scholars, is now generally supposed to have been placed beyond question by Prof. Winckler's discovery of the interchange of the two terms in documents from Boghaz Keui. This scholar states that, besides mention of the SA-GAZ-people, there is also reference to the SA-GAZ-gods, and that as a variant of this latter there exists the reading *ilâni Ḫa-bi-ri*, i.e. 'Ḫabiru-gods'.[2] This discovery, while certainly proving a general equivalence of the Ḫabiru with the SA-GAZ, does not, however, necessarily involve the conclusion that SA-GAZ in the Amarna correspondence was always and everywhere *understood and pronounced* as *Ḫabiru*: indeed, the contrary can be shown to be the case.

We have definite evidence in proof that (*amêlu*) SA-GAZ was ordinarily read in Babylonian as *ḫabbatum*, 'robber' or 'plunderer'.[3] No doubt the common Babylonian verb *šagâšu*, which means *to destroy, slay*, and the like, is a semiticization of the Sumerian ideogram; and the element GAZ, which in its pictographic form clearly represents a cutting or striking weapon,[4] has by itself tho

[1] All allusions to the SA-GAZ are collected by Weber in Knudtzon, p. 1147.

[2] Cf. *MDOG.* xxxv, p. 25 note. For the former, cf. Figulla and Weidner, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* 1, no. 1, Rev. l. 50; no. 3, Rev. l. 5; for the latter, no. 4, Rev. col. iv, l. 29.

[3] In a syllabary given in Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, ii. 26, 13 *g–h*, (*amêlu*) SA-GAZ is explained by *ḫab-b*[*a-tum*]. In another tablet (cf. R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, i, no. 103, obv. 7) the ideogram is glossed by *ḫab-ba-a-te*.

[4]

The pictographic linear script was written from top to bottom of a document.

values *dâku*, 'to kill, fight, strike', *maḫâṣu*, 'to smite, wound' (Heb. מחץ), &c.[1] Possibly the root *ḫabâtu*, from which *ḫabbatum* is derived, though it regularly means 'to plunder', may have an original connexion with the root *ḥbṭ* which runs through Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic with the sense 'to strike *or* beat'—in which case the root-sense of *ḫabbatum* would be 'cut-throat' rather than 'thief' (the two actions implied are commonly united among the nomad tribes of the Arabian desert).

When the pictographs came to be modified into groups of wedges (cuneiform), and the lines ran from left to right, the signs were correspondingly turned sideways, and the ideogram in question became .

The explanation of the pictograph given above is likewise adopted by Barton, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, no. 194 ('some instrument for crushing or fighting or both'). This GAZ seems to be the root which underlies a large number of Semitic triliterals which have been modified in different ways to express different kinds of *cutting*; e.g. Heb. גז־ה, whence גָּזִית 'cutting', so 'cut stone', New Heb. גְּזָא, Syr. ܓܙܐ 'to cut off; Heb. גז־ז 'to shear', whence גֵּז 'fleece shorn off' (Aram. גַּזָּא, Syr. ܓܙܬܐ, Bab. *gizzu ša ṣêni*), 'mown grass'; Heb. גז־ל 'to tear away', Ar. جَزَلَ 'to cut off'; Heb. גז־ם, whence גָּזָם 'locusts' as devouring (cutting off) vegetation, New Heb. גזם, Syr. ܓܙܡ, Ar. جَزَمَ, Eth. ገዘመ 'to cut off'; Heb. גז־ע, whence גֶּזַע 'stock, stem' as cut portion (Syr. ܓܙܥܐ), Ar. جَزَعَ 'to cut off', Eth. ገዘዐ 'to saw in two'; Heb. גז־ר 'to cut, divide', New Heb., Aram., Ar., Eth., *id.* GAZ appears in the slightly modified forms ḲAṢ, KAṢ, KÁS, and we have the first of these running through another large series of roots; Heb. קצ־ב 'to cut off', קֶצֶב 'shape', also 'extremity' as cut off; קצ־ה 'to cut off', קָצֶה 'end, extremity', New Heb., Aram., קְצָא, Syr. ܩܨܐ 'to break off', Ar. قَصَا 'to be remote'; Heb. קצ־ה, whence קָצִין 'judge' as *deciding*, Ar. قَضَى 'to decide judicially', قَاضٍ *Ḳâdi* (the differentiation between قضى and قصا appears to have been made for the purpose of differentiating the sense); Heb. קצ־ע 'to break off', when מִקְצֹעַ 'corner-buttress', Syr. ܩܛܥ, Ar. قَطَعَ (if for قَطَعَ); Heb. קצ־ץ 'to cut off', קֵץ 'end', Syr. ܩܨ 'to make an agreement' (decision), Ar. قَصَّ, Bab. *ḳaṣâṣu* 'to cut off'; Heb. קצ־ר 'to be short' (lit. '*cut* short'), New Heb., Aram., Syr., Ar. *id.* (but probably *not* קצר 'to reap', whence קָצִיר 'harvest', which seems to embody, not the idea of *cutting*, but that of *binding*, and should be analysed as ק־צר, belonging to the ṢAR, SAR, ZAR, ṬAR, TAR, DAR series with the sense 'go round', 'surround', so, in some cases, 'bind.' We notice an ascending scale of prefixed initial gutturals employed for triliteralization in א־צר, ע־צר, ה־צר, ק־צר: cf. Burney, *Judges*, p. 69; Ball, *Semitic and Sumerian* in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, pp. 41 f.). The Sumerian knife-sign in its values KUD(Ṭ, T), ḲUD(Ṭ, T), GUD(Ṭ, T) appears to represent an allied root.

[1] Cf. Brünnow, 4714 ff.

That (*amêlu*) SA-GAZ has its normal value in the Amarna letters is placed beyond doubt by the occurrence in a letter from Yapaḥi of Gezer[1] of the form (*amêlu*) SA-GAZ-MEŠ (*-tum*).[2] Here *-tum* is a Phonetic Complement,[3] pointing to a Babylonian equivalent which ends with this syllable—a fact which indicates the equivalent *ḫabbatum* and excludes *Ḫabiru* (or *-ri*). In view of this we may infer that in a letter from Dagan-takala,[4] in which he begs help of the king of Egypt—'Deliver me from the mighty foes, from the hand of the (*amêlûtu*) SA-GA-AZ-MEŠ, the robber-people (*amêlûtu ḫa-ba-ti*), the Šutû (*amêlûtu Šu-ti-i*)'—we have, not the specification of *three* distinct classes of foes, but of two only, *amêlûtu ḫa-ba-ti* being simply an explanatory gloss upon (*amêlûtu*) SA-GA-AZ-MEŠ.[5]

We conclude, then, that wherever the ideogram SA-GAZ stands in the Amarna letters, the equivalent that was *understood and read* was not *Habiru* but *ḫabbatum*, 'the robber-people' or 'brigands'. It is a different question whether the Ḫabiru were included among the people who could be classed as *ḫabbatum*. That this is to be affirmed appears to be certain from the equivalent 'SA-GAZ-gods' = 'Ḫabiru-gods', discovered by Winckler in the

[1] Knudtzon, no. 299, I. 26.

[2] MEŠ, which means 'multitude' (explained in syllabaries by Babylonian *ma'adu*), is used as the sign of the plural.

[3] A Phonetic Complement is often used in cuneiform in order to obviate doubt as to the precise Babylonian word or form denoted by an ideogram. Thus, e. g., the name Uta-napištim, which is commonly written ideographically UD-ZI, often has the syllable *-tim* added to indicate that ZI has the value *napištim*. MU, which means 'to speak' in Sumerian, and so can be used for the Babylonian *zakâru* with the same meaning, may be written MU(*-ar*), MU(*-ra*) to indicate the precise form of the verb *izakkar*, *izakkara*. Thus perfect clearness is gained without the labour of writing the forms syllabically *i-zak-kar*, *i-zak-ka-ra*.

[4] Knudtzon, no. 318.

[5] It is true that *amêlûtu ḫa-ba-ti* is not preceded by the diagonal wedge which as a rule marks a gloss; but this is sometimes omitted (cf. Knudtzon, no. 148, l. 31; no. 288, l. 34. In no. 288, l. 52 the wedge *follows* the gloss at the beginning of the next line.) The fact that Dagan-takala (or his scribe) did not know the ideogram GAZ, and so was obliged to write GA-AZ (which only occurs in this passage), favours the view that he may have glossed the ideogram in order to avoid misunderstanding. Dhorme (*Revue Biblique*, 1909, p. 69) compares Knudtzon, no. 195, ll. 24 ff., where Namyawaza offers to place his SA-GAZ and his Sutû at the disposal of the Pharaoh. 'These in fact are the two designations which describe the soldiers of the irregular and rebel army. There is no ground for regarding the *Ḫa-ba-ti* as a third group. Everything thus favours reading GAZ or SA-GAZ as *Ḫabbatu*.' In Knudtzon, no. 207, l. 21, we actually find (*amêlu*) GAZ-MEŠ followed by the diagonal wedge and then the syllable *ḫa-*, after which the tablet is broken and illegible.

documents from Boghaz Keui.[1] When, further, while ARAD-Ḫiba refers exclusively to the encroachments of the Ḫabiru, and does not mention the SA-GAZ, other princes in the south refer in a similar connexion and in similar terms to the encroachments of the SA-GAZ and make no allusion to the Ḫabiru, the inference is inevitable that the terms Ḫabiru and SA-GAZ refer in these letters to one and the same people.[2]

We must next notice that SA-GAZ, though meaning *ḫabbatum*, 'robbers', is not, as used in the Amarna Letters, a *mere* class-term (i. e. applicable to any body of people, of whatever race, who might adopt a bandit-life), but is definitely employed of a tribe or tribes from *a particular locality*, and united by racial affinity. This is clear from the fact that the ideogram is followed in two of its occurrences by the affix KI, 'country' or 'place',[3] which is used both with the names of countries and districts and with the names of tribes emanating from such districts. In one occurrence of Ḫabiru we likewise find KI added,[4] marking the term similarly as racial and not merely appellative. We may assume, then, with confidence that the connexion between the Ḫabiru and the SA-GAZ was a racial one; though it does not necessarily follow that *all* the SA-GAZ were Ḫabiru—since, on the evidence which we have

[1] Cf. p. 70.

[2] Cf. especially ARAD-Ḫiba's statement, 'Behold, this deed is the deed of Milkili and the sons of Labaya, who have given up the King's territory to the Ḫabiru' (Knudtzon, no. 287, ll. 29 ff.), with the statement of Biridiya of Megiddo, 'Behold, two sons of Labaya have gi[ven] their money to the SA-GAZ' (Knudtzon, no. 246, ll. 5 ff.). Cf. also the words of Labaya, 'I do not know whether Dumuya has gone with the SA-GAZ' (Knudtzon, no. 254, ll. 32 ff.); and of Milkili, 'Let the King my lord know that hostility is mighty against me and Šuwardata; and let the King deliver his land out of the hand of the SA-GAZ' (Knudtzon, no. 271, ll. 9 ff.); and of Bêlit-UR-MAḠ-MEŠ ('the mistress of Leba'oth'? Cf. Joshua xv. 32, xix. 6. UR-MAḠ-MEŠ means 'lions'), 'the SA-GAZ have sent to Aijalon and Zorah, and the two sons of Milkili were nearly slain' (Knudtzon, no. 273, ll. 18 ff.). The fact that Labaya and Milkili should themselves represent their relations with the SA-GAZ somewhat differently from ARAD-Ḫiba and Biridiya is only to be expected. The statements of ARAD-Ḫiba—'Let the King hearken unto ARAD-Ḫiba thy servant, and send bowmen, and bring back the King's territory to the King. But if there be no bowmen, the King's territory will certainly fall away to the Ḫabiru' (Knudtzon, no. 290, ll. 19 ff.); 'Should there be no bowmen this year, the King my lord's territories are lost' (Knudtzon, no. 288, ll. 51 ff.)—are strikingly similar to the statement of Bayawa, 'Unless Yanḫamu [the Egyptian plenipotentiary] arrives this year, the entire territories are lost to the SA-GAZ' (Knudtzon, no. 215, ll. 9 ff.); and it can hardly be doubted that the reference in each case is to the same peril.

[3] Cf. Knudtzon, no. 215, l. 15; no. 298, l. 27. [4] Cf. Knudtzon, no. 289, l. 24.

reviewed, there is nothing to forbid the theory that the Ḫabiru may have been but a single clan of a larger body of people called SA-GAZ.[1]

Is it probable, then, that the Ḫabiru were merely the southern branch of the racial movement into western Syria represented by the aggressions of the SA-GAZ? That they had gained a footing not merely in the south (the district round Jerusalem), but also in central Canaan, is clear from the fact that they are mentioned as in occupation of Shechem,[2] and that the prince of Megiddo expresses anxiety as to their movements.[3] But there is another reference in one of ARAD-Ḫiba's letters which seems to identify them with the SA-GAZ still farther north. 'When there was a ship (*or* a fleet?) at sea', he writes, 'the King's strong arm held the land of Naḫrima and the land of Kapasi (?); but now the Ḫabiru hold all the King's cities.'[4] Here the allusion undoubtedly is to the Egyptian fleet which, since the victorious campaigns of Ṭḫutmosi III, had possessed a base in the Phoenician harbours, and enabled the Pharaoh to reach Naharîn (Naḫrima) with little delay, and suppress any inclination to revolt in the extreme northern part of his Asiatic Empire. Now, however, in the absence of this fleet, the Ḫabiru are in the ascendant, and are holding either the cities of Naḫrima in the north, or (more probably) the Phoenician cities which it was necessary for Egypt to hold in order to maintain her footing in the ports. Adopting this latter hypothesis, we see at once that the SA-GAZ to whom Rib-Adda of Gebal so constantly refers as employed by the Amorite chieftains Abd-Aširta and Aziru for the reduction of the Phoenician cities were Ḫabiru, as well as the southern aggressors. This is a point of the first importance for the elucidation of the Ḫabiru-question.

The close connexion of the SA-GAZ-Ḫabiru with the people called Sutû is evident. Both peoples are in the service of the chieftain Namyawaza as mercenaries;[5] both commit aggressions upon Dagan-takala;[6] and, apparently, upon Yapaḫi of Gezer.[7] Rib-

[1] So Dhorme, *Revue Biblique*, 1909, p. 69.

[2] Cf. p. 67.

[3] Cf. p. 73, foot-note 2.

[4] The rendering here adopted is that which is generally accepted (cf. Winckler, no. 181, ll. 32 ff.; Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 92; Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, p. 274), from which there seems no reason to depart. It is difficult to believe that Knudtzon's rendering is correct (no. 288, ll. 32 ff.; followed by Barton, *Archaeology of the Bible*, p. 347); still less that of Ungnad in *Texte und Bilder*, i, p. 133.

[5] Cf. Knudtzon, no. 195, ll. 27 ff.

[6] Cf. Knudtzon, no. 318.

[7] Cf. Knudtzon, nos. 297–9.

Adda of Gebal, who complains repeatedly of the aggressions of the SA-GAZ, also states that one Paḫura has sent Sutû who have killed his Šerdânu mercenaries.[1] Concerning the Sutû we happen to be fairly well-informed. We learn from a chronicle that the Kaššite king of Karduniaš, Kadašman-Ḫarbe I (*c.* end of the fifteenth century B.C.), 'effected the conquest of the marauding Sutû from east to west, and destroyed their power, built fortresses in Amurru, &c.'[2] Adad-Nirari I of Assyria (*c.* 1325 B.C.) states that his father Arik-dên-ili 'conquered the whole of the wide-spreading Ḳutû, the Aḫlamû, and Sutû'.[3] The Aḫlamû are known to have been an Aramaean nomadic or semi-nomadic people. The Hittite king, Ḫattušili II, makes 'the Aḫlamû-peril' his excuse for having ceased diplomatic relations with the king of Karduniaš (Kadašman-Enlil II).[4] Tiglath-Pileser I (*c.* 1100 B.C.) tells us that he defeated 'the Aramaean Aḫlamû' who inhabited the district in the neighbourhood of Carchemish.[5] It is clear from these references that the Sutû must have been a nomad tribe inhabiting the northern part of the Syrian desert to the west of the upper Euphrates;[6] and with this agrees the statement of Ašur-uballiṭ of Assyria that the Sutû have detained the messengers of Aḫnaton,[7] since the Egyptian envoys would have to cross this desert on their way to Assyria.

We may now observe that the Egyptian term for the Semitic nomads of the Asiatic desert is *Śasu*, a word which seems to be foreign to the language, and which has been plausibly connected with the West-Semitic root שָׂסָה *śāsā*, 'to plunder'.[8] The *Śasu*

[1] Cf. Knudtzon, no. 122, ll. 31 ff.

[2] Cf. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, p. 115. Winckler makes Kadašman-Ḫarbe the second king of that name (*c.* 1252 B.C.); but cf. King, *History of Babylon*, p. 243, n. 1. The 'fortresses in Amurru' were probably built to command the important caravan-route from Babylonia to Assyria; cf. p. 76, foot-note 1.

[3] Cf. Tablet, ll. 19 f. in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, p. 4; Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, p. 6; and, for the reading Arik-dên-ili and not Pudi-ilu (as the name was formerly read), King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 396.

[4] Cf. Winckler, *MDOG*, xxxv, p. 22; Figulla and Weidner, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*[1], no. 10, obv. ll. 36 f.

[5] Cf. Annals, v, ll. 44 ff. in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, p. 32; Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, p. 73.

[6] It is generally supposed that Shoa' and Ḳoa' of Ezek. xxiii. 23 are the Sutû and Ḳutû. On the Sutû in relation to the Aramaeans cf. Streck, *Ueber die älteste Geschichte der Aramäer*, in *Klio*, vi (1906), pp. 209 ff.

[7] Knudtzon, no. 16, ll. 37 ff.

[8] Cf. W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 131; Ed. Meyer, *Israeliten*, p. 324.

then, are simply 'the plunderers' or 'brigands'; and the agreement in meaning of this designation with the Babylonian *ḫabbatum*, which, as we have seen, is the equivalent of the ideogram SA-GAZ, can hardly be merely accidental. We shall see presently that the Egyptian king Sety I, in referring to the *Šasu*, undoubtedly means the SA-GAZ-Ḫabiru who were making aggressions in Canaan. While, therefore, the meaning of SA-GAZ favours the conclusion that the appellation belongs to a nomad-people, the connexion of the SA-GAZ with the Sutû suggests that, like these latter, they belonged to the north Syrian desert, the region which both cuneiform and Biblical records associate with the Aramaeans. These facts should be taken in connexion with the further facts that the SA-GAZ are principally mentioned as employed by Abd-Aširta and his sons, and that the land of Amurru, over which these chieftains held sway, extended (as Winckler has proved from the Boghaz Keui documents [1]) from the Lebanon eastward across the Syrian desert to the Euphrates, thus embracing precisely the northern part of the desert inhabited by Aramaean nomads. Hence the conclusion that the SA-GAZ—and therefore the Ḫabiru—were Aramaean nomads seems to be raised to a practical certainty.

Now the Old Testament definitely connects the ancestors of the Hebrews with the Aramaeans. Abraham is not himself termed an Aramaean, but he has Aramaean connexions. Rebekah, the wife of

The Semitic root is only known to occur in Hebrew, and is of fairly frequent occurrence in the Old Testament. Meyer (loc. cit., n. 1) notices the interesting fact that it is used in 1 Sam. xiv. 48, which relates Saul's conquest of the Amalekite Bedawin on the border of Egypt:—'he smote Amalek, and delivered Israel from the hand of his plunderer' (שֹׁסֵהוּ).

[1] *MDOG*, xxxv, pp. 24 f. Cf. also King, *History of Babylon*, pp. 237 f. The evidence is found in the important letter of the Hittite king Ḫattušili II to Kadašman-Enlil II, king of Karduniaš (Babylon), to which allusion has already been made (p. 75). The Babylonian king had made complaint against Banti-šinni, chieftain of Amurru (a successor of Abd-Aširta and Aziru), the vassal of Hattušili, on the charge of harassing his land, and when taxed by the Hittite king with the misdemeanour, Banti-šinni had replied by advancing a counter-charge for thirty talents of silver against the people of Akkad. It seems, therefore, to follow that the district known as Amurru, which was under the sway of Banti-šinni, must have extended to the Euphrates and been contiguous with the territory of the king of Karduniaš. The Amorite chieftain would thus have command of the important caravan-route from Babylonia to Syria, and failure to satisfy the demand for dues which he doubtless exacted from the caravans using the route seems to have led him to indemnify himself by encroachments upon Babylonian territory. The full text of the letter has now been published in Figulla and Weidner, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*[1], no. 10. The relevant portion will be found in Rev. ll. 26 ff.

his son Isaac, is brought from Aram-naharaim, and is the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor his brother (Gen. xxiv J). Bethuel is termed 'the Aramaean' (Gen. xxv. 20 P, xxviii. 5 P), and so is his son Laban, the brother of Rebekah (Gen. xxxi. 20, 24 E). Jacob's wives are Aramaeans (the daughters of Laban), and he himself is called 'a vagabond Aramaean' (אֲרַמִּי אֹבֵד, Deut. xxvi. 5). On his return from Paddan-Aram he re-enters Canaan bearing the new name Israel (Gen. xxxii. 28 J, xxxv. 10 P), together with his many sons (or *clans*), and takes up his abode at or near Shechem, concerning his relations with which city variant traditions are extant.[1] The mere fact, then, that the situation pictured in the Amarna letters is that Aramaean nomads are flocking into Syria-Palestine and taking forcible possession of many of its cities might by itself lead us plausibly to infer that the eastern wing of this immigration probably included the ancestors of Israel—more especially since ARAD-Ḫiba states that they (the Ḫabiru) are in possession of the land of Shechem.[2] When, moreover, we add to this the fact that the equivalence between the names 'Ḫabiru' and 'Hebrew' is perfect,[3] the inference is surely raised to a high degree of probability.

The only fact which may make us hesitate in assuming the identity of the Ḫabiru with the Hebrews as proved beyond the possibility of a doubt is the occurrence of the term *Ḫa-bir-a-a*, i. e. a gentilic form 'Ḫabiraean', in two Babylonian documents; in each case in application to men who bear Kaššite names—Ḫarbišiḫu[4] and Kudurra.[5] If, as it is reasonable to suppose, *Ḫa-bir-a-a* is the gentilic of *Ḫabiru*,[6] the fact that the only two names of Ḫabiru-people that are known to us should be Kaššite is certainly remarkable; and the conclusion that the Ḫabiru were Kaššites has been

[1] Cf. pp. 43 f., and the note on Shechem in Burney, *Judges*, pp. 269 f.

[2] Cf. p. 67.

[3] Cf. pp. 68 f.

[4] Cf. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, iv.[2] 34, 2; and, for transliteration and translation of the document, Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, pp. 389–96. The letter, written by an unnamed Babylonian king, mentions a king of Assyria named Ninib-Tukulti-Ašur, who seems to have reigned towards the end of the thirteenth century B. C. (cf. Johns, *Ancient Assyria*, pp. 66 ff.), i. e. during the latter part of the Kaššite period in Babylon.

[5] Cf. Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, xvi (1894), pp. 32 f. The name occurs on a boundary-stone of the time of Marduk-aḫi-erba of the Fourth Babylonian dynasty (1073 B. C.).

[6] Hommel, however, regards the similarity between Ḫabiru and Ḫabirâ as purely fortuitous, taking the latter to mean an inhabitant of the land Ḫapir or Apir, i. e. that part of Elam which lay over against eastern Arabia. Cf. *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 236; *Grundriss*, p. 7.

adopted by several scholars.[1] Recently, Père Scheil has published a tablet bearing a brief memorandum which mentions the Ḫabiru (*amêlu Ḫa-bi-ri* exactly as in the Amarna Letters) at Larsa in the reign of the Elamite Rîm-Sin, the contemporary of Ḫammurabi, seven centuries earlier than the Amarna Letters.[2] This scholar's conclusion (based on this occurrence and on the Kaššite names above mentioned) is as follows: 'The Ḫabiru were in origin an Elamite, Kaššite, or Lower Mesopotamian people . . . In any case they served among the forces of the Elamite dynasty at Larsa. Without doubt they were also employed in the far countries to the west, where the supremacy of Kudur-Mabuk, Ḫammurabi, Ammiditana, &c., maintained itself with more or less authority, thanks to the presence of armed troops.' The proof that Kaššite troops were stationed by these monarchs in Syria-Palestine is, however, non-existent; and still less (apart from the assumption that the Ḫabiru were Kaššites) can the presence of such troops in the west be proved for six centuries later.[3]

There is no reason, so far as we can say, why Rîm-Sin should not have employed Aramaean (Hebrew) tribesmen as mercenaries

[1] So Halévy in *Journal Asiatique* (1891), p. 547; Scheil in *Recueil de Travaux*, loc. cit.; Hilprecht, *Assyriaca* (1894), p. 33 n.; Reisner in *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1897), pp. 143 ff.; Lagrange in *Revue Biblique* (1899, pp. 127 ff.

[2] *Revue d'Assyriologie*. xii (1915), pp. 114 f. The memorandum runs: 'These are 4 (*or* 5 ?) garments for the officers of the Ḫabiru which Ibni-Adad . . . has received. Levied (?) on the property of the temple of Šamaš by Ili-ippalzam. [Month of] Nisan, 11th day, [year of] Rîm-Sin, king.'

[3] It is true that ARAD-Ḫiba speaks of the outrages committed by the Kaši people, who seem on one occasion nearly to have killed him in his own house (Knudtzon, no. 287, ll. 32 f., 71 ff.); and Biridiya of Megiddo apparently couples them with the SA-GAZ as in the pay of the sons of Labaya (Knudtzon, no. 246, ll. 5 f.: the reading is uncertain, as the tablet is broken; but traces of *Ka-* can be seen after *amêlût mât*). Since, however, Rib-Adda of Gebal more than once begs the Pharaoh to send his Kaši troops to protect Egyptian interests in Phoenicia (Knudtzon, no. 131, l. 13; no. 133, l. 17; conjecturally restored in no. 127, l. 22), and in one of these passages (no. 133, l. 17) *Ka-*[*ši*] is a gloss upon [*Me-lu-*]*ḫa*, i.e. Ethiopia (Heb. כּוּשׁ *Kûš*). it can scarcely be doubted that the people of identical name mentioned by ARAD-Hiba and Biridiya were likewise Sudanese mercenaries at the disposal of the Egyptian high-commissioner, who may well have proved themselves hostile and troublesome to the governors of Jerusalem and Megiddo. It must be recollected that ARAD-Hiba actually charged the high-commissioner with favouring the Ḫabiru and hating the city-governors (Knudtzon, no. 286, ll. 16 ff.; cf. above. p. 67). The identity of the Kaši with the Sudanese mercenaries in all these passages is assumed by Weber (Knudtzon, pp. 1100 f.). There is the same ambiguity in regard to the term (Kushite or Kaššite) in cuneiform records as exists in the case of the Hebrew כּוּשׁ (cf. Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 208; Burney, *Judges*, p. 64).

c. 2100 B.C. Abraham 'the Hebrew', who is assigned to this period in Gen. xiv, is earliest associated with the city of Ur (Gen. xi. 28, 31, xv. 7) on the right bank of the Euphrates and bordering on the Syrian desert, with which Larsa on the left of the river was closely connected.[1] There were SA-GAZ in Babylonia in Ḫammurabi's reign, and their overseer bore a Semitic Babylonian name, Anum-pî-Sin.[2] If such tribesmen came later on into the regular employ of the Kaššite kings, it would not be strange if some of them adopted Kaššite names.[3] We find, then, in this last mentioned evidence, no insuperable objection to the identification of the Ḫabiru with the Hebrews in the widest sense of the latter term.

Before leaving the Ḫabiru-question, one other competing theory as to the identity of this people may be noticed—less on account of its intrinsic strength than because it has been widely brought by its author before the English-speaking public in works of a popular character. Prof. Sayce[4] has advanced the view that the Ḫabiru were 'Hittite condottieri', basing this theory upon a discovery which he claims as the result of his attempted decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions, viz. that the name Kas was used throughout the Hittite region, the kings of Carchemish, for example, calling themselves 'kings of the country of Kas'. He takes references in the Amarna Letters to the land of Kaššu (Kašši in oblique forms) to refer to the land of the Hittites, alleging that reference to Babylonia is out of the question, since this is called Karduniaš by the Kaššites—in answer to which it is sufficient to remark that the full title claimed by the kings of the Third (Kaššite) Babylonian dynasty, as appears from a short inscription of Kara-indaš I (*c.* 1425 B.C.) is 'King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of Kaššu (*Ka-aš-šu-u*), King of Karduniaš'.[5] Sayce then claims that the Kaši people of ARAD-Ḫiba's letter[6] are identified with the Ḫabiru

[1] A regular part of the title claimed by Rîm-Sin is 'he that cared for Ur'. Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 216 ff.

[2] Cf. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, no. 35; Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, no. 26, with note *b*.

[3] Cf. Winckler in *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3rd ed.), p. 197, n. 1. Knudtzon (p. 47, n. 8) maintains (against Scheil) that the name of Kudurra's father, which is read as *Ba-ṣi-iš*, seems not to be Kaššite.

[4] Prof. Sayce's fullest statement of his theory is found in *Expository Times*, xv (1900), pp. 282 f.

[5] Cf. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, iv.[2] 36 [38], no. 3; Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 128.

[6] Cf. p. 78, n. 3.

in the passage in which the writer, having accused Milkili and the sons of Labaya of giving the King's land to the Ḫabiru, then goes on to say, 'Behold, O King my lord, I am righteous as regards the Kaši people: let the King ask the high-commissioner whether [or no] they have dealt very violently and brought serious evil to pass.'[1] Most readers, however, must surely infer that the passage, on the contrary, distinguishes between the two peoples. Why should the writer apply different appellations to one people in successive sentences? Obviously ARAD-Ḫiba, having made his own accusation against his enemies, then proceeds to deal with an accusation which *they* have made against *him*—probably resistance to the Sudanese troops involving bloodshed, as we may infer from his later statement that they had nearly killed him in his own house. The letters from the Canaanite princes are full of such mutual recriminations. Equally groundless is the statement that the sons of Arzawa—who must certainly have been Hittites[2]—mentioned in one letter[3] take the place of the Ḫabiru in other letters. The passage in question says, 'Behold, Milkili, does he not revolt with the sons of Labaya and the sons of Arzawa to give up the King's territory to them?' Here, if the sons of Arzawa are Ḫabiru, we should surely draw the same inference with regard to the sons of Labaya—at any rate, there is no reason why we should draw the inference with regard to the first group any more than with regard to the second. In two of the three other passages in question,[4] however, the sons of Labaya are distinguished from the Ḫabiru, for the former are associated with Milkili in giving up the King's territory to the latter.

Lastly, Prof. Sayce's statement that *Ḫabiru* (*-ri*) cannot be a proper name, because it is not *Ḫabirâ* (a gentilic form) is directly contradicted by the fact that we have *Sutû* (*-tî*), *Aḫlamû* (*-mî*) which are certainly tribal names and yet are not gentilics;[5] his explanation of the name as meaning 'confederates' (like Heb. *ḥābhēr*, plural *ḥ^{a}bhērîm*, the ordinary philological equivalent for which in Babylonian is *ibru*[6]) is ruled out by the occurrence of the gentilic *Ḫabirâ* with the two Kaššite names which we have already noticed,[7] since such a gentilic can only be formed from a proper

[1] Knudtzon, no. 287. [2] Cf. Burney, *Judges*, Introd. pp. lxxxiii f.
[3] Knudtzon, no. 289 = Winckler, 182-185.
[4] Knudtzon, nos. 287, 290, 289, ll. 21 ff. = Winckler, 180, 183, 185.
[5] On these peoples cf. pp. 74 f.
[6] The term *ibru* occurs once in the Amarna Letters: cf. Knudtzon, no. 126, l. 16. [7] Cf. p. 77.

name, and is excluded no less by the occurrence once of (*amêlûtu*) *Ḫa-bi-ri* (KI) which marks the name as racial (a tribe from a particular district [1]); and his finding in the last-mentioned method of writing the name an indication of the association of the 'confederates' with the city of Ḥebron (assumed to mean 'Confederate-city') takes no account of the fact that we cannot dissociate *Ḫabiri* (KI) from the two occurrences of SA-GAZ (KI) which we have discussed with it.[2]

At the close of Aḫnaton's reign (*c.* 1358) and during the reigns of the remaining Pharaohs of the Eighteenth dynasty, Egypt's hold upon her Asiatic dominions seems almost entirely to have been relaxed. The Hittite monarch Šubbiluliuma thoroughly consolidated his power north of the Lebanons, but does not seem to have attempted to extend his arms southwards into Canaan; and here the Ḫabiru and other turbulent elements in the population were left to work their will unchecked by any effective control. It was not till the reign of Sety I (*c.* 1313 B.C.), the second king of the Nineteenth dynasty, that effective measures were attempted for the restoration of Egypt's suzerainty. At the beginning of this king's reign he received a report of the condition of affairs in Canaan which ran as follows: 'The vanquished Šasu, they plan rebellion, rising against the Asiatics of Ḫaru. They have taken to cursing and quarrelling, each of them slaying his neighbour, and they disregard the laws of the palace.'[3] This report, which summarizes the situation in Canaan as we have it in the Amarna Letters, is of high interest as indicating that the SA-GAZ-Ḫabiru of the latter were identical with the people whom the Egyptians called Šasu, i.e. Asiatic Bedawin.[4] Ḫaru was the designation applied by the Egyptians to southern Palestine, and 'the Asiatics of Ḫaru' are doubtless the vassal Canaanite chieftains to whom the authority of Egypt was delegated.

In two campaigns Sety succeeded largely in restoring Egyptian authority in Canaan; but made no effective move against the

[1] Cf. p. 73.

[2] Discussions of the Ḫabiru and SA-GAZ which take fullest account of available evidence are Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, i (1895), pp. 16–21; *Altorientalische Forschungen*, iii (1902), pp. 90–4; *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (ed. 3, 1903), pp. 196 ff.; Knudtzon, pp. 45–53; Weber in Knudtzon, pp. 1146–8, 1336; Dhorme in *Revue Biblique*, 1909, pp. 67–73; Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer* (1911), pp. 83–96.

[3] Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iii, § 101.

[4] Cf. the remarks on pp. 75 f. as to the identity in meaning of Šasu with SA-GAZ = *ḫabbatum*.

Hittites, and had to content himself with concluding a treaty with Muršili,[1] Šubbiluliuma's son and second successor, the terms of which probably left Canaan and the Phoenician coast to Egypt, and the whole of Syria north of the Lebanons to the Hittites. It is interesting to note that Sety (like his successor Ra'messe II) mentions among his conquests a district called *'Asaru*, corresponding to the hinterland of southern Phoenicia[2]—precisely the position assigned in the Old Testament to the Israelite tribe of Asher.

The expeditions into Canaan of Ra'messe II (*c.* 1292 B. C.), and his long struggle with the Hittites, offer us (except for the allusion to Asher already noticed) nothing which bears directly on our subject. Ra'messe II reigned for sixty-seven years, and his son Mineptaḥ was an elderly man when he succeeded him (*c.* 1225 B. C.). This king's accession seems to have been the signal for a revolt in Canaan which he quelled in his third year. Mineptaḥ's reference to this campaign is, from the Biblical point of view, of the highest interest, for in it we find Israel mentioned among Palestinian localities—Pekanan (i. e. 'the Canaan'), Ashkelon, Gezer, Yenoam, Ḫaru (i. e. southern Palestine)—as plundered and subdued.[3] Mineptaḥ's statement is 'Israel is desolated, his seed is not',[4] and the name Israel is marked by the determinative meaning 'men', showing that it denotes a people and not a country.

We have now noticed all external allusions which seem to bear more or less directly upon the early history of Israel. There remains the task of attempting to bring them into relation with the Biblical traditions which we have already discussed. As a

[1] Mentioned in the treaty of Ra'messe II with Ḫattušili II. This speaks of a treaty with Muwattalli (Muršili's successor); but there can be no doubt that the name is an error for Muršili: cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iii, § 377, note *c*.

[2] Cf. W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 236 ff.

[3] The inscription in which this reference occurs was discovered by Petrie in 1896, and a full account of it was given by him in the *Contemporary Review* for May of the same year. Cf. also Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii, p. 114; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iii, §§ 602 ff.

[4] In the expression 'his seed is not', *seed* seems to mean *posterity*; and the phrase does not mean 'their crops are destroyed', as explained by Petrie and many scholars after him. This is clear from the fact that the same expression is used five times elsewhere of other conquered foes (cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iii, § 604), e. g. of the sea-peoples who endeavoured to invade Egypt in the reign of Ra'messe III, of whom this king says, 'Those who reached my border are desolated, their seed is not.' Here reference to 'crops' is obviously out of the question.

preliminary to this the question of prime importance is the date which is to be assigned to the Exodus from Egypt. On this point, fortunately, we possess information which may fairly be regarded as reliable. Exod. i. 11 J states that the Israelites, under the system of forced labour imposed upon them, 'built for Pharaoh store-cities, Pithom and Ra'amses'; and M. Naville has proved that the site of Pithom (called in Egyptian P-etôm, i. e. 'the abode of Etôm', a form of the Sun-god) was the modern Tell el-Masḫûṭa, in the east of the Wâdy Ṭûmîlât, near the ancient frontier of Egypt, and that the founder of the city was Ra'messe II.[1] Thus, granted the historical truth of the Israelite tradition (and in such a matter there is no reason to suspect it), it follows that Ra'messe II (*c.* 1292–1225 B.C.) was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and his successor Mineptaḥ (*c.* 1225–1215 B.C.) probably the Pharaoh of the Exodus.[2] If this is so, however, we observe at once that the external allusions which seem to indicate the presence of Israelite tribes in Canaan are all prior to the Exodus; and that two of them appear to postulate the existence there of Israelite elements which must have been distinct from those that made their escape from Egypt under Mineptaḥ. Asher is occupying in the reigns of Sety I and Ra'messe II the precise position in Galilee which, according to later Biblical tradition, was allotted to him *after* the settlement in Canaan effected through the conquests of Joshua; and a people named Israel forms a tribal element in Canaan (as is implied by its mention in the midst of Canaanite place-names[3]) at a date nearly coincident with

[1] Cf. Naville, *The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus* (ed. 1, 1885; ed. 4, 1903); W. M. Müller in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 3782 ff.; Sayce in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii, pp. 886 f.; Driver, *Exodus* (*Cambridge Bible*), pp. xxx, 4.

[2] So at least we infer from Exod. ii. 23, iv. 19 J, which indicate that, in the view of the narrator, the Pharaoh of the Exodus was the next after the great oppressor. Obviously, however, we cannot postulate the same degree of accuracy for this conclusion as for the statement of Exod. i. 11. Mineptaḥ's reign was not very long (about ten years); and supposing that the Exodus took place not under him but in the period of weakness and anarchy which immediately followed his reign, we cannot be sure that the J writer would have known of this, or, knowing it, would have thought it necessary to make the point clear. In any case, however, it is obvious from the Hebrew narrative that the Exodus followed at no long interval after the death of the Pharaoh of the oppression.

[3] In view of the grouping in which the reference to Israel occurs, the alternative explanation which suggests itself—viz. that we have here Mineptaḥ's version of the Exodus, the disappearance of Israel in the waterless desert being, from the Egyptian point of view, regarded as equivalent to their extinction—may be dismissed as out of the question.

(or rather earlier than) the Biblical Exodus. Thus external evidence tends to confirm a conclusion at which we have already arrived through examination of the earliest Biblical traditions, viz. that the Israelite tribes which sojourned in Egypt and escaped thence at the Exodus were a part only and not the whole of Israel, while other Israelite tribes occupied Canaan without a break from a much earlier period.

Another point which for our purpose it is important to notice, is the fact that the Old Testament traditions represent the migration of Israel's ancestors from their early home in the east westward into Canaan, not as a single movement completed in a short space of time, but as a series of movements extending over a very considerable period. Assuming (as we are bound to do) that these early traditions deal in the main with the movements of *tribes* under the guise of individuals,[1] the earliest of these tribal movements is represented by the journey of Abraham (Abram) and his nephew Lot from Ḥarran into southern Canaan—a movement which tradition regarded as responsible for the formation of the different divisions of the 'Hebrew' race, Jacob, Edom, Moab, and Ammon, not to mention various Arabian tribal groups to whom Israel acknowledged a relation more or less remote. Now the tradition embodied in Gen. xiv makes Abraham contemporary with Ḥammurabi (Amraphel), the most celebrated king of the First Babylonian dynasty, dating him therefore *c.* 2100 B. C. There are clear traces of lunar worship in early Hebrew religion which centre primarily round the Abraham-tradition, and undoubtedly connect Abraham with Ur and Ḥarran (the two important centres of lunar cultus)

[1] The explanation of individuals as personified tribes, and of their doings as tribal movements, which is in fact forced upon us in regard to much that is related in the patriarchal narratives (cf., as typical instances, the accounts of Abraham's descendants by his second wife Keturah, Gen. xxv. 1 ff., and of the relations of Jacob's 'sons' with Shechem, Gen. xxxiv—discussed on pp. 37 ff.), must of course not be pressed to account for every detail in the stories; since some elements may possibly be due to the admixture of reminiscences as to actual individuals (tribal leaders, &c.), and a good deal in the setting of the stories (especially of those which are most picturesque and lifelike) undoubtedly belongs to the art of the story-teller. The literature which deals with this subject is endless. It is sufficient here to refer to Skinner's *Genesis* (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), pp. iii-xxxii, and to Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ed. 2, i, pp. 386–455, as offering markedly sane and judicious estimates of the character of the Genesis-narratives. Guthe (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 1–6) lays down canons for the interpretation of the narratives in their historical reference to tribal movements which are helpful so long as the qualifications above suggested are borne in mind.

and with the First dynasty period.[1] Whether, therefore, we regard Abraham as an historical clan-chieftain or as the ideal personification of the clan itself, there is good ground for believing in the historical truth of a Semitic clan-movement at this period from Ur to Ḫarran, and thence to southern Canaan (Beer-sheba). And since, as we have seen,[2] there were Ḫabiru in Babylonia as early as the time of Ḫammurabi and Rîm-Sin, it is reasonable to conclude that this migration was (as the Old Testament tradition represents it) the beginning of the Hebrew westward movement—itself but a part of the larger Aramaean movement which indisputably continued during a period of many centuries.

A subsequent accession from the east seems to be represented by the arrival of the Aramaean tribe Rebekah, who, by union with Isaac, Abraham's 'son', produces the two tribal groups, Esau-Edom and Jacob. These for a while dwell together in southern Canaan, until the hostile pressure of the former compels the latter to cross the Jordan in the direction of his ancestral home, where, in course of time, he unites with fresh Aramaean elements (Jacob's wives). Ultimately the whole tribal body thus formed moves once more towards Canaan, impelled as it appears by the westward pressure of other Aramaeans (the pursuit of Laban), with whom eventually a friendly treaty is formed, fixing the tribal boundary at or near Mizpah in Gilead.[3] When this Hebrew group, thus modified by fresh accessions, once more enters Canaan, it no longer bears the common name of Jacob, but is known as Israel.[4]

We may now observe that the tribal interpretation of early Israelite traditions—taken in broad outline as they stand, and without any shuffling or rearrangement to fit in with a preconceived theory—offers us a chronological solution of most of the facts derived from extra-Biblical evidence which seem to have a bearing upon the history of Israel's ancestors. If the Hebrew immigration into Canaan represented by Abraham really took place as early as

[1] Cf. *Additional Note* on 'Early identification of Yahweh with the Moon-god' in Burney, *Judges*, pp. 249 ff.

[2] Cf. pp. 78 f.

[3] Cf., for the interpretation of early Biblical tradition embodied in this paragraph, Steuernagel, *Einwanderung*, §§ 6 ff.

[4] It is possible, as Steuernagel assumes (op. cit., p. 54), that the Leah and Zilpah tribes may have been in Canaan earlier than the Bilhah and Jacob-Rachel tribes, and, coming subsequently to be regarded as 'brothers' of the latter, were not unnaturally traced back to a common 'father'. Thus, owing to priority of settlement, Leah comes to be regarded as the earlier wife, while Rachel is the more closely united and better-loved wife.

c. 2100 B.C., it is natural that a tribe called Jacob, descended from Abraham, should have given its name to a site Jacob-el in southern or central Canaan by 1479 B.C.[1] And if the Jacob-tribe, having again crossed the Jordan eastward, returned to Canaan at a later period increased by fresh Aramaean accessions, this may well have been in process of happening *c.* 1375 B.C., when, as we know from the Amarna Letters, an Aramaean people called Ḫabiru were pressing into Canaan, and gradually gaining a footing on a semi-nomadic basis (i. e. transitional between the nomadic and the settled stage), much as Jacob-Israel and his 'sons' are represented in Genesis as doing.[2] The fact that Jacob, in making his westward migration, is pressed by the Aramaean Laban agrees with the presentation in the Amarna Letters of the Ḫabiru-movement as of a part with a widespread Aramaean movement as represented by the SA-GAZ and the Sutû; and the seizure of the district of Shechem by the Ḫabiru[3] may well be identified with the events of which we have an echo in Gen. xxxiv, xlviii. 21, 22. Indeed, as we have already noticed,[4] the latter passage can hardly be explained except on the assumption that the Shechem-district, which eventually came in post-Exodus times to form part of the possession of the Joseph-tribes, had been captured at an earlier period by another section of Israel. Finally, the allusion to *Israel* as a people in Canaan in the reign of Mineptaḥ, *c.* 1223 B.C., agrees with the Biblical tradition that Jacob on his second entry into Canaan assumed the name of Israel. If it be merely a coincidence that prior to the Ḫabiru-invasion we have external evidence for Jacob in Canaan, while subsequently to it we have like evidence for Israel, it is certainly a remarkable one.

[1] The name Jacob (*Yaʿ*^{a}*ḳōb*), like Isaac (*Yiṣḥāḳ*), Joseph, &c., is a verbal form implying the elision of *-el*, 'God', as subject of the verb. Cf. the personal and place-name *Yiphṭāḥ* (Judges xi. 1 ff., Joshua xv. 43) with the place-name *Yiphtaḥ'ēl* (Joshua xix. 14, 27), and the place-name *Yabneh* (2 Chron. xxvi. 6) = *Yabneʾēl* (Joshua xv. 11). Other examples of tribal names thus formed are *Yisrā'ēl* and *Yišmāʿēl*. Other place-names so formed are *Yizreʿēl*, *Yᵉḳabṣeʾēl* (Neh. xi. 25 = *Ḳabṣeʾēl*, Joshua xv. 21, 2 Sam. xxiii. 20), *Yoḳtheʾēl* (Joshua xv. 28, 2 Kings xiv. 7), *Yirpeʾēl* (Joshua xviii. 27). On the transference of tribal names to places or districts cf. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter*, ii, p. 84. The West Semitic names *Yaḥḳub-el*, *Yakub-el* (without expression of ע, which is represented in the first example by *ḥ*), *Yaḳubum* (hypocoristic, exactly like Jacob) occur in early Babylonian documents; though we cannot be quite sure of their equivalence to Jacob, since the syllable *ḳub* may also stand for *ḳup*, *kub*, *kup*. Cf. Ranke as cited by Gressmann in *ZATW.* xxx (1910), p. 6.

[2] Cf. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ed. 2, i, p. 410.

[3] Cf. p. 67.

[4] Cf. p. 43.

A further question upon which we have not yet touched concerns the period at which the Joseph-tribes broke off from the rest of Israel and migrated to Egypt. It has commonly been assumed that this must have taken place during the Hyksos domination. This conclusion is based partly upon the assumption that the entry of Semitic tribes into Egypt would have been most likely to have occurred under the Hyksos, who were themselves in all probability Asiatic Semites; partly upon the fact that the duration of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, as given in Exod. xii. 40 P, viz. 430 years, if reckoned backward from the probable date of the Exodus in the reign of Mineptaḥ—say, from 1220 B.C., gives 1650 B.C. as the date of the entry, which falls well within the Hyksos-period, whether we adopt the long or the short scheme of reckoning that period.[1] If, however, we are correct in identifying the immigration of Israel and his 'sons' into Canaan with the invasion of the Ḫabiru *c.* 1400 B.C., and if, again, it is the fact that the Old Testament traditions preserve a substantially correct recollection of the *order* of events (as we gathered from our preceding discussion), then it appears that Joseph did not break off from his brethren and go down into Egypt until *after* the Ḫabiru-invasion, i.e. perhaps two centuries after the expulsion of the Hyksos by Aḥmosi I, the founder of the Eighteenth dynasty. It is remarkable, indeed, that, if the Pharaoh under whom Joseph is represented as rising to power was a member of the Hyksos dynasty, the 'new king, who knew not Joseph' (Exod. i. 8) and instituted an era of oppressive measures in order to check the increase of Israel, is found, not in Aḥmosi I, who expelled the hated Semitic invaders, but in Ra'messe II of the Nineteenth dynasty, nearly 300 years later. The Biblical estimate of 430 years for the duration of the sojourn in Egypt belongs to the latest stratum of the narrative, and is clearly bound up with a purely artificial system of calculation.[2] A different tradition is preserved in the LXX text of the passage, where the addition of the words καὶ ἐν γῇ Χανάαν makes the 430 years include the whole patriarchal period as well as the sojourn in Egypt; and since on the Biblical reckoning the former lasted 215 years, the latter is therefore reduced to a like period. This reckoning would give us 1435 B.C. as the date of the entry, i.e. during the reign of Amenḥotp II.

Increasing knowledge of the history of Egypt during the Empire

[1] Cf. p. 60.

[2] It is based on the assumption of four generations of one hundred years each. Cf. Driver, *Exodus* (*Cambridge Bible*), p. xlv, and notes on vi. 27, xii. 40.

proves beyond a doubt that the period of the Eighteenth dynasty, from the reign of Ṭhutmosi III onwards, when Canaan was a province of Egypt and the intercourse between the two countries was (as we learn from the Amarna Letters) close and constant, is in all respects suited to the condition of affairs which, according to the Genesis-tradition, brought about the entry of Israel's ancestors into Egypt. The Egyptian inscription to which allusion has already been made,[1] in which Asiatic refugees crave, and receive, admission into Egypt, dates, as we have noticed, from the close of the Eighteenth dynasty; and the terms in which the petition is couched indicates that it had long been customary for the Pharaohs to grant such admission. Under Amenḥotp III, when the power and luxury of the Empire were at their height, the development of trade between Syria and Egypt left its mark upon the Egyptian language through the introduction of a large Semitic vocabulary.[2] The Semitic population of Egypt must have been considerable, partly drawn thither by trade and partly as slaves, the captives of Asiatic campaigns. 'As this host of foreigners intermarried with the natives, the large infusion of strange blood made itself felt in a new and composite type of face, if we may trust the artists of the day.'[3] Such were Dûdu and Yanḥamu, two high officials bearing Semitic names who are often mentioned in the Amarna Letters.[4] Indeed, the position of the latter, who was high commissioner over Yarimuta,[5] a great corn-growing district, offers several points of analogy to the position of Joseph as pictured in Genesis, and he has been thought with some plausibility to be the historical figure round whom the story of Joseph's rise to power in Egypt was constructed.[6]

[1] Cf. p. 46.

[2] Cf. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 337. [3] Ibid., p. 339.

[4] The name Dûdu is evidently the same as the Biblical Dodo which occurs in Judges x. 1, 2 Sam. xxiii. 9 *Kᵉrê* = 1 Chron. xi. 12, 2 Sam. xxiii. 14 = 1 Chron. xi. 26: cf. Burney, *Judges*, p. 291. Yanḥamu may stand for יִנְעָם, which is known as a Sabaean proper name: cf. Weber in Knudtzon, p. 1171.

[5] The site of this district is disputed. One view places it in the Delta, while another would find it on the Syrian coast: cf. Burney, *Judges*, p. cxiii, foot-note. Whether, however, Yarimuta lay within the actual borders of Egypt or not, the fact that Yanḥamu was constantly in Egypt and in close touch with the Pharaoh as a high official of the court remains undoubted: cf. the conspectus of allusions to him given by Weber in Knudtzon, pp. 1169 ff.

[6] Cf. J. Marquart, *Chronologische Untersuchungen* (*Philologus*: *Zeitschrift für das class. Alterthum: Supplementband* vii. 1899), pp. 677-80; Winckler, *Abraham als Babylonier, Joseph als Ägypter* (1903), p. 31; Cheyne in *Encyc. Bibl.* 2593; Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, ii,

If, then, we may assume that the entry of the Joseph-tribes into Egypt took place during the flourishing period of the Empire, it is likely that the change of policy under Ra'messe II, which led him to take measures to oppress and to check the increase of the Hebrews, may have been dictated by the fact that the loss of Egypt's hold upon her Asiatic empire, which resulted from the weakness of Aḫnaton and his successors, tended to make the presence of a considerable body of Semitic aliens upon the north-east border of Egypt a menace to the safety of the state.[1]

While, however, our theory places the entry of the Joseph-tribe into Egypt considerably later than the Hyksos-period, this does not forbid the view that earlier ancestors of Israel may have been in Egypt with the Hyksos. If Abraham represents a Hebrew migration to Canaan some centuries before the Hyksos-invasion of Egypt, and if this invasion was a southward movement of the people of Amurru, it seems not at all unlikely that some of Israel's ancestors, who (as tradition informs us) occupied southern Canaan, may have been implicated in it. The tradition of Gen. xii. 10–20 J, which brings Abraham and his wife and followers to Egypt in time of famine, looks not unlike an echo of the Hyksos-period; and the way in which the patriarch is represented as escorted out of the land may not impossibly amount to the placing of the best interpretation upon a dismissal which may really have been an expulsion—possibly based on a vague recollection of the actual expulsion of the Hyksos by Aḫmosi I. If this is so, it is not impossible that the Hyksos-chieftain Jacob-el may have been a representative of the Jacob-tribe.

Thus the only extra-Biblical allusion to Israel's ancestors for which, on our interpretation of the Biblical tradition, we fail to find an explanation, is the supposed occurrence of Joseph-el as a place-name in Canaan, *c.* 1479 B.C.; since, on our theory, the Joseph-tribe can scarcely have been in Canaan at this date. The

pp. 72 ff.; Weber in Knudtzon, p. 1171. Cheyne has made the wonderfully clever suggestion that in Gen. xli. 43 the obscure expression *Abrēk* which was proclaimed before Joseph on his rise to power, combined with the Infinitive Absolute form which immediately follows (אברך ונתון אתו), is a corruption of חֲבַר בּוּנְאָתֹן 'Friend of Ḥu-en-aton' (a variant method of vocalizing the name Aḫnaton): cf. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, April, 1900; *Encyc. Bibl.* 2593. The objection to this is that the Egyptian H would naturally be represented in Hebrew by ח and not by כ: cf. W. M. Müller, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, October, 1900.

[1] Cf. Spiegelberg, *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten* (1904), pp. 35 ff.

interpretation of *Y-š-p-â-ra* as Joseph-el is, however (as we have noticed [1]), of very doubtful validity.

The view which makes Ra'messe II the Pharaoh of the oppression, and Mineptaḥ, or one of his immediate successors, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, though favoured by the majority of scholars, is not universally accepted. The fact is certainly remarkable that, if we take the Biblical scheme of computation as it stands, and adding 480 years to 967 B. C. (which is fixed with approximate certainty for the fourth year of Solomon), in accordance with the statement of 1 Kings vi. 1 R[P], obtain 1447 B. C. (in the reign of Amenḥotp II) as the date of the Exodus; then add 430 years for Israel's residence in Egypt (cf. Exod. xii. 40 P), and obtain 1877 B. C. (in the Hyksos-period according to Petrie's longer scheme of chronology, though earlier according to Breasted and Hall) for the entry into Egypt; then add 215 years for the Patriarchal period (according to Gen. xii. 4 b, xxi. 5, xxv. 26 b, xlvii. 9 a, all P),[2] and obtain 2092 B. C. for Abraham's departure from Ḥarran, this last date falls within the reign of Ḥammurabi (*c.* 2123–2081 B. C.) in accordance with the tradition of Gen. xiv. Thus Prof. Hommel [3] adopts the reign of Amenḥotp II for the Exodus.

It should not, however, escape our notice that the one fact which makes this computation remarkable is the approximate correctness of the exterior dates, viz. that 1,125 years appear accurately to represent the period from a date in Ḥammurabi's reign to a date in Solomon's reign. This is probably not the result of accident, but may well be due to the fact that a Jewish chronologist living in Babylon during the exile may easily have obtained from Babylonian sources the figure which represented the period from Ḥammurabi to his own day.[4] This, however, argues nothing for the correctness of the sectional periods within the external limits. The back-reckoning to Solomon is of course based upon the

[1] Cf. p. 61, n. 4.

[2] According to this scheme Abraham is seventy-five on his departure from Ḥarran, and one hundred at the birth of Isaac; Isaac is sixty at the birth of Jacob, and Jacob is one hundred and thirty when he enters Egypt with his sons.

[3] *Expository Times*, x (1899), pp. 210 ff. Hommel assigns in each case a date nine years later than those given above. Orr, *Problem of the Old Testament* (1908), pp. 422–4, adopts the conclusions of Hommel.

[4] The care and accuracy with which the Babylonians preserved their chronological data, even back to the earliest period of their history, are familiar facts. Cf. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, 6th ed., i, pp. 470 ff.

(approximately correct[1]) chronology of Kings; but the Babylonians could supply no information as to the date of the Exodus, or of Israel's entry into Egypt, or of the lives of the patriarchs. As we noticed in the first lecture,[2] the 480 years assigned in 1 Kings vi. 1 as the period from the Exodus to the fourth year of Solomon is a purely artificial computation, based on the theory of twelve generations of forty years each, and worked out within the period by the use of suspiciously recurrent periods of forty years. If, however, we cannot find even an approximately historical basis for the Biblical chronology of *this* period, why should we pin our faith to the correctness of the earlier periods given for Israel's sojourn in Egypt (based, as we have already noticed,[3] on the assumption of four generations of one hundred years each!), and for the lives of the patriarchs? The reign of Amenḥotp II, when Egypt's hold upon her Asiatic empire was at its strongest immediately after the victorious reign of Ṭḥutmosi III, may well be thought to be the least probable period for the Exodus and settlement in Canaan by force of arms.

Another view as to the date of the Exodus is represented by Mr. Hall,[4] who attempts to revive the theory of Josephus,[5] by connecting the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos; and further supposes that the aggressions of the Ḫabiru, as we read of them in the Amarna Letters, are identical with the invasion of Canaan by the Israelites under the leadership of Joshua. This theory is obliged to do great violence to the Biblical tradition; for not only are the circumstances of Aḥmosi's expulsion of the Hyksos widely different from the Biblical account of the Exodus, but in order to dispose of the inference (based on Exod. i. 11) that Ra'messe II was the Pharaoh of the oppression, the names Pithom and Ra'amses have to be explained as 'the interpretations of a scribe who knew their names as those of Egyptian cities which existed in his time in and near the land of Goshen',[6] and, to bridge the interval between Aḥmosi I and Amenḥotp III, the 'forty' years in the wilderness (probably intended to represent the length of a generation[7]) have to be expanded to nearly two hundred years,[8] and thus the possibility of a real historical connexion between Joshua and Moses is

[1] Cf. p. 3, foot-note. [2] Cf. p. 4.
[3] Cf. p. 87.
[4] *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 403 ff.
[5] *Contra Apionem*, i. 14. [6] Op. cit., p. 405.
[7] Cf. Num. xiv. 26-35 JEP, xxxii. 13 P, Deut. ii. 14, and the remarks on p. 4.
[8] Op. cit., p. 408.

necessarily excluded. On the identification of Joshua's conquests with the Ḫabiru-invasion we cannot, as this writer confesses,[1] identify any of the persons mentioned in the one source with those who are mentioned in the other.[2] The question whether the character of the Ḫabiru-aggressions closely resembles the Biblical narrative of Israel's doings as depicted in the Book of Joshua must be largely a matter of individual opinion. In my own view the

[1] Op. cit., p. 410.

[2] Orr (*The Problem of the Old Testament*, pp. 423 f.) likewise holds that the invasion of the Ḫabiru 'synchronises very closely with the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites', and finds in this 'a coincidence of much importance'. It is curious that this writer, whose book is a defence of the historical character of the Old Testament against the attacks of criticism (cf. especially *ch.* iii), and who rightly (in the opinion of the present writer) objects to the sweeping statement of Kuenen that 'the description of the Exodus from Egypt, the wandering in the desert, and partition of Canaan . . . to put it in a word, are *utterly unhistorical*' (cf. p. 57, referring to Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, p. 42), should fail to observe that the identification of the Ḫabiru-invasion with that of Israel under Joshua at once cuts at the roots of the historical character of the old narratives in the Book of Joshua. Comparison of the names of the Canaanite kings in Joshua and the Amarna Letters, where we have information from both sources, yields the following result:

	Book of Joshua.	*Amarna Letters.*
Jerusalem . .	Adoni-zedek (x. 3)	ARAD-Ḫiba (Knudtzon, nos. 285 ff.).
Lachish . . .	Japhia' (x. 3)	Yabni-el (Knudtzon, no. 328). Zimrida (Knudtzon, no. 329).
Gezer	Horam (x. 33)	Yapaḫi (Knudtzon, nos. 297 ff.).
Hazor	Jabin (xi. 1)	Abdi-Tirši (Knudtzon, no. 228).

Here, since the Amarna names, as derived from actual contemporary letters, must necessarily be correct, the Biblical names, if referred to identically the same period are *ipso facto* declared to be false; and if this is the case with every name which can be tested, what ground have we for holding that any names, or indeed any facts, mentioned in the Biblical account of the conquest of Canaan are of the slightest historical value? The only supposed historical *gain* arising from identification of the Ḫabiru-invasion with the conquests of Joshua, is that it fits in well enough with the late Biblical scheme of chronology which we have already discussed (p. 90); yet, while we can attach a real historical value to an ancient narrative in which the main outline (i.e. as concerns names, scenes, and actions) appears to be approximately true to fact, even though chronological data are lacking (as in J and E upon the view which we maintain), it is difficult to see what importance can be attached to the maintenance of a chronological scheme which (on the test of external evidence) at once wrecks the historical character of the narratives to which it is applied. To do Dr. Orr justice, it is probable that he did not realize the further implications of his argument as they are here pointed out; yet, if this is so, what is the value of an argument which, basing itself upon the supposed identity of two sets of circumstances as pictured in Biblical and extra-Biblical sources, neglects so obvious a precaution as the comparison of the names of some of the principal actors?

position of the Ḫabiru and SA-GAZ in Canaan is more nearly analogous to that of the floating, semi-nomadic population which has at all times formed a feature of Palestine—a population living at peace with the settled inhabitants of cities and villages when the country is under a strong government, though even then ever ready to seize the opportunity for blackmail and petty aggression; but a really dangerous element when affairs are unsettled and the government is weak or non-existent, and without scruple as regards selling their services for warfare and intrigue to the highest bidder. Such a relation towards the Canaanites—normally peaceful, but sometimes aggressive—appears more nearly to correspond to the position of Israel in Canaan in patriarchal times (cf., for the aggressive side, Gen. xxxiv) than to the invasion of the Joseph-tribes under Joshua which, when we have made all allowance for the exaggerations of R^p, was still a definitely organized campaign of conquest. In any case, since, as we have seen,[1] it is impossible to separate the Ḫabiru from the SA-GAZ, or to deny that the former were, at least to a large extent, identical with the latter, the Ḫabiru-invasion must have extended over a far wider (more northerly) area than did Israel's career of conquest even as interpreted by the later editors of the old narratives in the Book of Joshua.

It is true that, according to Mr. Hall's theory of the date of the Exodus, as also according to that of Prof. Hommel, we gain a far longer period for the course of events from the Exodus to the fourth year of Solomon, for which, as we have seen, the late author of 1 Kings vi. 1 assigns 480 years, but which, if we place the Exodus under Mineptaḥ, cannot really have covered much more than 250 years.[2] Considering, however, the fact that the Judges were tribal and local leaders merely, some of whom may have been contemporaneous, there exists no valid reason why a longer period than 250 years should be postulated. On the other hand, supposing that we identify Joshua's conquest of Canaan with the Ḫabiru-invasion, we are faced by the very real difficulty that the Syrian campaigns of Sety I (which dealt primarily with the Ḫabiru-aggressions[3]), Ra'messe II, and Mineptaḥ (who actually defeated *Israel* in Canaan[4]), all fall within the period of the Judges; yet, while much is told us in the Book of Judges of the aggressions of comparatively petty antagonists, not a word is said as to any collision with the great power of Egypt. This omission, which, on the theory of the Exodus

[1] Cf. pp. 69 ff.
[2] Cf. Burney, *Judges*, Introd., p. liii.
[3] Cf. p. 81.
[4] Cf. p. 82.

which we adopt, is in agreement with fact, must surely (in view of relations with Egypt in time past implied by the narrative of the oppression and escape from bondage) be deemed very strange if we are to throw Israel's occupation of Canaan under Joshua back to the period of the Amarna Letters.

TABLE OF DATES

THE following table gives the approximate dates of fixed points in connexion with Israel's early tribal movements, so far as we have been able to determine them in the foregoing discussion:

	Date B. C.
Earliest migration of Israel's ancestors from Ḫarran to Canaan about the time of Ḫammurabi (cf. p. 84)	*c.* 2100
Some of these ancestors possibly in Egypt with the Hyksos (cf. p. 89)	before 1580
Jacob-tribes in Canaan: place-name Jacob-el mentioned by Ṯutmosi III (cf. p. 61)	*c.* 1479
'Apuriu (Hebrews ??) in Canaan (cf. p. 62)	„
Flow of SA-GAZ-Ḫabiru (Aramaeans, including Hebrews) westward and south-westward into Syria and Canaan in full progress (cf. pp. 66 ff.): Shechem held by Ḫabiru (cf. p. 67, and Gen. xxxiv, xlviii. 22): Joseph-tribes in Egypt . .	*c.* 1411–1358
Sety I defeats the Šasu (i. e. SA-GAZ-Ḫabiru) in Canaan at the beginning of his reign, and conquers a district called Asher in western Galilee (cf. p. 82). Sety reigned . .	*c.* 1313–1292
'Apuriu (Hebrews ??) mentioned as foreigners doing manual work in Egypt (cf. p. 62)	*c.* 1292–1161
Oppression of Joseph-tribes in Egypt by Ra'messe II (cf. p. 83), who reigned	*c.* 1292–1225
Exodus of Joseph-tribes (and possibly other elements of Israel, e. g. Simeon and Levi: cf. pp. 46 f.) under Mineptaḥ (or a little later: cf. p. 83, n. 2). Mineptaḥ reigned . . .	*c.* 1225–1215
Mineptaḥ defeats 'Israel' (i. e. some part of the tribes who were not in Egypt with the Joseph-tribes) in Canaan (cf. p. 82)	*c.* 1222

Invasion of Canaan by the Joseph-tribes under Joshua, soon after 1200.

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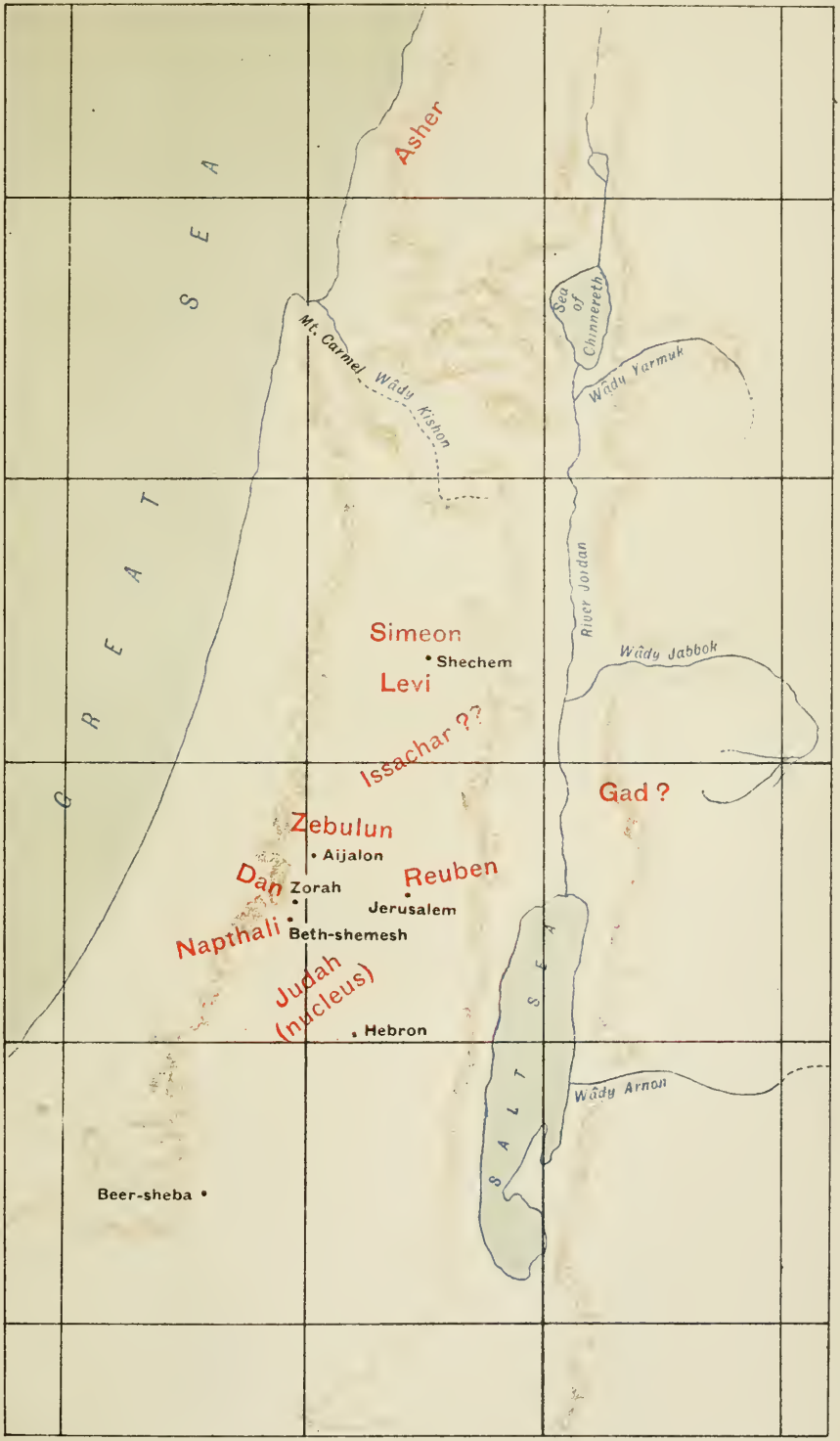

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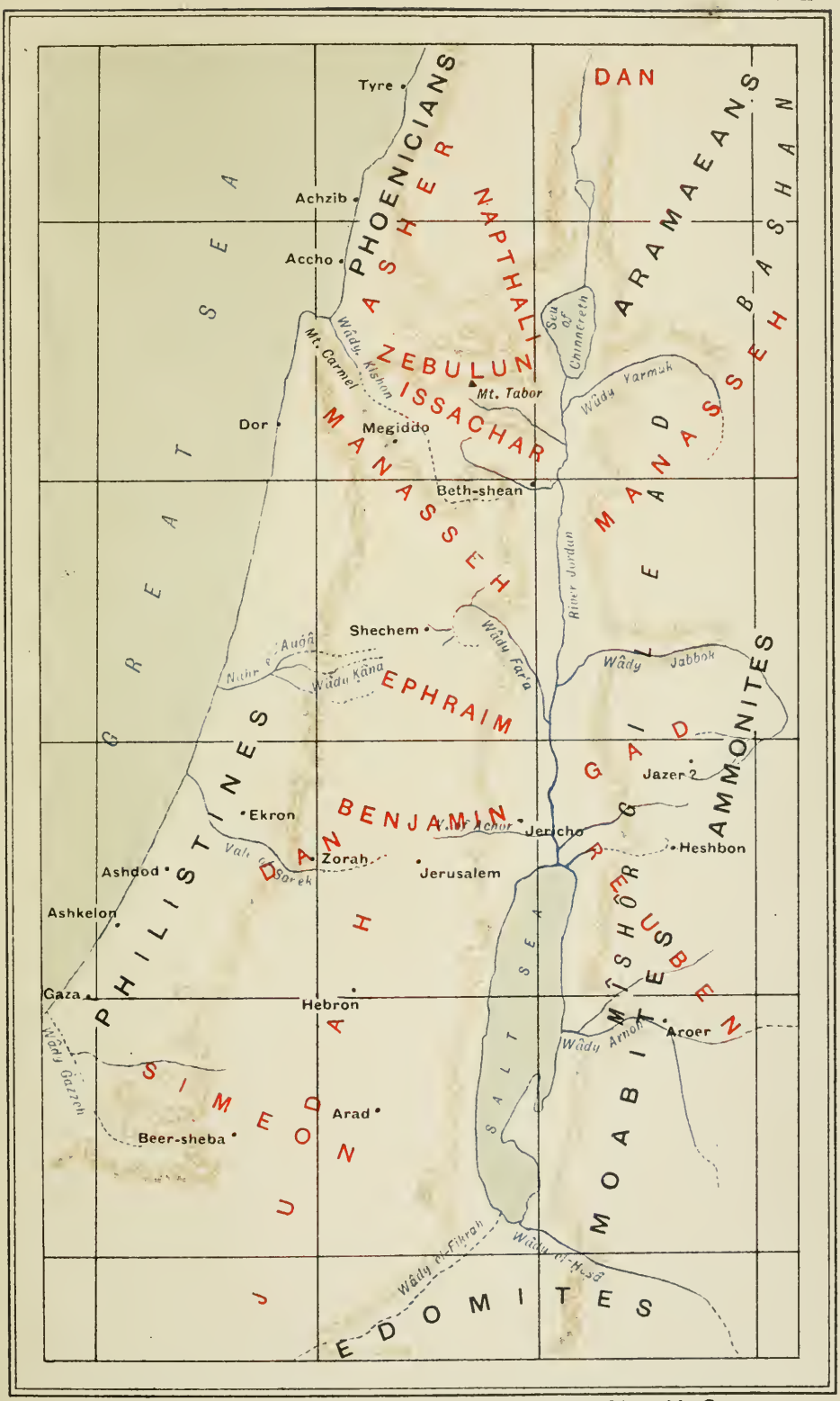

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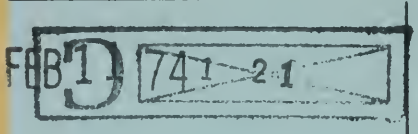

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